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**A revised sociology of leisure: The social relationships and
network structures of leisure behaviors**

Stokowski, Patricia Ann, Ph.D.

University of Washington, 1988

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A Revised Sociology of Leisure:

The Social Relationships
and Network Structures
of Leisure Behaviors

by

PATRICIA ANN STOKOWSKI

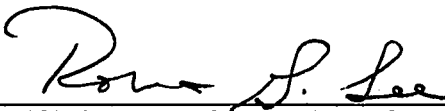
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University of Washington

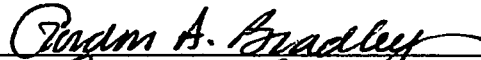
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Abstract

**A REVISED SOCIOLOGY OF LEISURE:
THE SOCIAL RELATIONSHIPS
AND NETWORK STRUCTURES
OF LEISURE BEHAVIORS**

by Patricia A. Stokowski

Chairperson of the Supervisory Committee: Professor Robert G. Lee
College of Forest Resources

Conventional wisdom in the sociology of leisure maintains that "leisure" is what people experience as a result of recreation participation. Missing from our understanding of leisure as a socially significant phenomena is knowledge of how people construct leisure behaviors and meanings within the social context of their daily lives. This dissertation proposes a revised sociology of leisure, based on a unique blending of phenomenological and structural perspectives of sociological inquiry, which attempts to describe and explain the relational nature of leisure. The intersection of phenomenology and structuralism occurs at the point of the "social relationship," where social meanings about reality are cooperatively created and confirmed by people in communication interaction. Social relationships are the basic units of extended social networks of community, and so can be studied using techniques of social network analysis. Under the revised model, leisure is conceived as a "social context" which is characterized by the patterning of affective, non-instrumental relationships within social networks of community. When these relationships are activated for leisure, they provide the structure, order, and coherence for recreation activity participation and the for the social creation of leisure meanings. The revised model of leisure developed in this paper is applied in an exploratory

study of social networks and recreation activities in a rural town in Washington State. Results confirm that people make recreation choices based, to some extent, on their relational involvements within community social network structures. In addition, the meanings they attribute to leisure reflect the influence of egocentric relationships in network structures. The model illustrates the usefulness of a theory of leisure based on social relationships and meanings.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	<i>Page</i>
List of Figures	vi
List of Tables	vii
Preface	viii
Part 1: The Current Status of the Sociology of Leisure	1
Chapter 1: Problems and Opportunities in the Sociology of Leisure	4
A. Problems in the Sociology of Leisure	5
B. Continuing Issues in the Sociology of Leisure	6
C. Basic Foundations of the Sociology of Leisure	7
1. What is "Leisure" in the Sociology of Leisure?	8
2. What is "Sociology" in the Sociology of Leisure?	11
a. Sociology as "Science"	11
3. The Sociology of Leisure	12
Chapter 2: Sociological Research About Leisure: "Social Groups"	15
A. Literature Review	16
1. Foundations of the Social Groups Model	16
2. Applications of the Social Groups Model: The Social Organization of Visitors On-Site	20
a. Recreation Activities and Places	20
b. Leisure "Meanings"	21
c. Family and Life Style	24
d. Refinement of the Social Groups Model	26
B. Critique	27

	<i>Page</i>
Chapter 3: Requirements of a Revised Sociology of Leisure	33
A. Analysis	34
1. Mechanism	34
2. Intentionalism	35
3. "Dis-Order"	36
B. What is Needed?	37
C. A Revised Sociology of Leisure	38
Part 2: Theoretical and Methodological Basis for a Revised Sociology of Leisure	40
Chapter 4: Phenomenological Sociology	42
A. Phenomenological Theorizing	42
B. Phenomenology and Ethnomethodology	46
C. Shortcomings of the Phenomenological Paradigm	47
D. Basic Units: Social Relationships	49
E. From Relationships to Social Networks	51
F. Phenomenology in the Study of Leisure	51
Chapter 5: Social Network Analysis	54
A. The Structuralist Position	55
B. Social Network Analysis	57
C. Conceptual Issues in Social Network Analysis	59
1. Theoretical Basis	59
2. Types of Networks	60
3. The Nature of Relationships	61
D. Methodological Issues in Social Network Analysis	62
1. Sampling Procedures	62
E. Measuring Network Structure: Operationalization of Key Concepts	63
F. Measuring Network Structure: Clustering Techniques Within Networks	64
G. Benefits of Networks Research	66
H. Sociological Research Literature About Social Networks	67
1. Introductory and Reference Papers	69
2. Research on Primary and Extended Relationships	70
3. Papers About Networks Methodology	73
I. Network Studies in Leisure and Recreation	74

	<i>Page</i>
Chapter 6: A Revised Sociology of Leisure	76
A. Rationale	77
B. Theoretical Foundations	77
C. Concepts	79
1. The Context of Leisure	79
2. Community Social Networks	82
D. Applications: Research Questions	84
E. Benefits of a New Sociology of Leisure	86
Part 3: Empirical Research Under a Revised Sociology of Leisure	88
Chapter 7: The Eatonville Study	90
A. Study Site	90
B. Theoretical Approach	91
C. Empirical Procedures	93
1. Sample and Design	93
2. Operationalizations: Recreation and Leisure Behaviors	94
3. Operationalizations: Social Relationships and Network Ties	96
D. Results and Analysis	99
1. Egocentric Network Patterns	100
2. Recreation Choices	107
a. Persons With Strong Ties to Immediate Family	111
b. Persons With Strong Ties to Extended Family	114
c. Persons With Strong Ties to Friends	115
d. Persons With No Strong Ties	117
E. Conjugal Roles and Recreation Activities	117
F. Conclusions	122
Chapter 8: The Network Structures and Social Meanings of Leisure: Discussion	126
A. The Influence of Social Networks on Leisure	126
B. The Meaning of Meaning	129
C. Limitations of the Eatonville Study	130

	<i>Page</i>
Chapter 9: Conclusions and Consequences of a Revised Sociology of Leisure133
A. Contributions	133
B. Issues135
1. Structural Analysis: Practical Considerations135
2. Structural Analysis: Theoretical Relevance	136
3. Phenomenological Issues138
C. Future Research139
List of References141
Appendix A: List of Variables155

LIST OF FIGURES

<i>Number</i>		<i>Page</i>
1.	A Phenomenological/Structural Model of Leisure	80

LIST OF TABLES

<i>Number</i>		<i>Page</i>
1.	Socio-Demographic Characteristics of Eatonville Subjects	95
2.	Aggregated Strength of Relational Ties	101
3.	Aggregated Measures of Strength of Ties	103
4.	Male-Female Differences in Strongest Network Ties	105
5.	Social Networks and Recreation Activities	108
6.	Male-Female Activity Differences for Subjects with Strong Immediate Family Ties	110
7.	Specific Activity Patterns for Network Ties	112
8.	Network Patterns and Recreation Choices for Couples	118

PREFACE

The conventional scientific wisdom in the sociology of leisure maintains that leisure is what happens to people as a result of recreation participation. That is, "leisure" has a character unique from "work"; it involves some sort of "activity" which is recreational or restorative; it occurs during "free time"; and it generates some emotional response or "feeling" in the participant. These particular conceptualizations have created within the sociology of leisure the intellectual climate for applying positivistic, quantitative methodologies in the study of leisure and recreation problems.

The shortcomings of these methodological and conceptual approaches become apparent when one considers the question of what leisure really means to people in the context of their daily lives. The conventional approach implies that if an event cannot be studied as recreation, then it probably is not leisure. Sociologists concerned with leisure and recreation have been slow to inquire about the "non-events" which might constitute leisure: those regularized, patterned involvements which people find socially satisfying and meaningful, but which they may not necessarily define as "recreation."

This dissertation takes as problematic familiar conceptualizations and approaches in the sociology of leisure, and challenges the assumption that the most useful scientific methods in analyzing leisure behavior are quantitative methods. The contribution of this dissertation is in its attempt to explore the boundaries of a revised sociology of leisure from the standpoint of phenomenology and structuralism, and in its application of qualitative research approaches which inform both theory-generating activities and later quantitative analyses.

Even considered one at a time, the perspectives of phenomenology and structuralism are infrequently applied in recreation and leisure research. The marriage of phenomenology and structuralism, proposed in this paper, is not only unique in leisure and recreation research, but also in sociology and social philosophy. This dissertation suggests that the two perspectives intersect at the point of the "social relationship." That is, social relationships provide contexts for the active creation of social meanings through interpersonal communication, and also serve as building blocks for the development of the social network structures through which these meanings are institutionalized.

The research agenda proposed here is not a straightforward application of phenomenological and structural principles. Neither phenomenology nor structuralism is considered a dignified "elder" among the theories of the social and humanistic sciences. In the histories of both are inconsistencies regarding definition of concepts, appropriate analytic techniques, and the meaning of results. But the most evident dilemmas are in relation to purpose and procedures: structural analysis has made little progress towards a theory of social structure, and phenomenology has little in the manner of an associated methodology.

Despite the evident difficulties, the blending of phenomenology and structuralism offers a set of stimulating propositions which enrich the understanding of sociological aspects of leisure and recreation. People stand in structural relation to many others in the world, and it is through their interpersonal relationships that meanings about social reality are created. Leisure provides one social context within which this process can occur.

This dissertation provides the initial statement of a revised sociology of leisure. The emphasis throughout is on theoretical and conceptual development, rather than on the empirical test of a new model. The research reported in this paper is qualitative in nature, and illustrative in intent. The empirical study, detailing the procedures of social network analysis and the interpretation of meanings, functions as a case study to illustrate and document the procedures of a new analytic approach applied to leisure and recreation issues. The goal is to generate theory rather than test hypotheses, and the appropriate methodological procedures in this regard are naturalistic and ethnographic.

This dissertation is written as a response to perceived deficiencies in current theoretical and methodological approaches in the sociology of leisure. The paper has three objectives: first, to review and critique the philosophical and scientific traditions which underly the sociological approach in the study of leisure and recreation; second, to present a revised model of leisure which has its foundations in the interpersonal relationships and social networks of community; and third, to apply in an exploratory case study the theoretical and methodological features of the revised approach. The overall goal of this paper is to stimulate scholarly thinking about a sociology of leisure and recreation which is grounded in structural and phenomenological perspectives.

Because the dissertation draws from a variety of disciplinary perspectives, a brief outline is useful. This paper contains three sections. Part 1 presents a review of intellectual thought in the sociology of leisure, and includes a critique of important scientific, cultural, and philosophical issues. How leisure has been defined as an issue of sociological significance will be considered in Chapter 1. In Chapter 2, the dominant paradigm which guides research in the sociology of leisure -- the social

groups model -- is reviewed, and its implications for leisure and recreation studies are discussed. In Chapter 3, reasons why studies in the sociology of leisure have been problematic and limiting are summarized, and the requirements for a revised sociology of leisure and recreation are described.

Following the analysis in Part 1, the necessary components of this revised approach to leisure are outlined in Part 2 of the dissertation. The basic conceptual elements of the revised approach are derived from the application of phenomenological (Chapter 4) and structural (Chapter 5) perspectives to leisure and recreation research. It is suggested in Chapter 6 that, under the new paradigm, "leisure" refers to a context of human social experience where ordered patterns of social relationships, behaviors, and meanings are created through individual and communal recreation activity. Critical components of the new model -- including "social relationships", "community social networks", and the "social construction of realities" -- are discussed in these chapters.

In Part 3 of the dissertation, the results of an exploratory case study which applies the revised model of leisure are presented. As described in Chapter 7, the Eatonville study considers the question of how interpersonal relationships within community social networks might foster opportunities for outdoor recreation participation. In addition, this study raises the issue of how the network structures influencing recreation participation contribute to social and individual meanings about leisure. The Eatonville study serves as an illustration of appropriate procedures for structural and phenomenological inquiry of leisure and recreation.

Finally, Chapters 8 and 9 provide an analysis of the significant conclusions from the Eatonville study, and also review the limitations and possibilities of the "structures-with-meanings" approach for studying leisure and recreation problems. A concluding commentary ponders the future of the new paradigm and its practical and theoretical implications.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Many people generously contributed time, ideas, encouragement, and technical assistance in the preparation of this dissertation. I am especially grateful to my Ph.D. Committee Chairman, Dr. Robert G. Lee, who greatly influenced the development of my ideas throughout my years at the University of Washington. Bob has been supportive and patient, and has provided me with a stimulating learning environment. In addition, he and his family gave me a place to stay, and kept me sane, while I finished writing this paper in summer 1988.

I have been fortunate to have the following persons on my Graduate Committee: Dr. Marc Miller, Institute of Marine Sciences, University of Washington; Dr. Gordon Bradley and Dr. Grant Sharpe, both of the College of Forest Resources, University of Washington; and Dr. Daniel Stynes, Department of Park and Recreation Resources, Michigan State University. It was rewarding to work with Marc, who contributed an insightful reading of the final drafts of this paper, many stimulating ideas in conversation, and reminders that "this is supposed to be fun!" Gordon and Grant each willingly shared their experiences and ideas during my graduate program, and were especially helpful in commenting on the final drafts of this paper. Dan has provided advice and good friendship for over a decade, and continues to help me frame my research ideas into manageable questions.

Ms. Kristi Branch, Battelle Memorial Institute, Seattle, while not on my Graduate Committee, generously reviewed the final draft of the dissertation, and was a source of stimulating ideas throughout my writing. The paper is much improved as a result of her comments.

Several persons played key roles in the early stages of my graduate work, and helped shape my ideas about social networks and leisure. I profited from interaction with: Dr. Terrance Albrecht, Department of Speech Communication, University of Washington; Dr. Neil Cheek, formerly at Washington's College of Forestry, and now at Louisiana State University; and Dr. Donald Field, formerly at Washington's College of Forestry, and now at the University of Wisconsin-Madison. In addition, Dr. Ronald Hodgson, California State University-Chico, shared his ideas on communication and social networks both in person and by writing me notes addressed "Dear Network Link."

Many friends, too numerous to mention individually, have provided support, encouragement, and meals throughout my graduate program and dissertation writing. Mrs. Marianne Innis and Dr. Robert Innis, the University of Lowell, Massachusetts, have for many years provided inspiration, stimulating ideas, and friendship -- and, more recently, advice on how to *finish* a dissertation. It is with great pleasure that I relieve them of the burden of worrying about how this paper is progressing. Ms. Paula Imboden, Seattle, my "youngest older friend," was always ready to listen to problems, and provided much encouragement both on-ice and off. Andy Castelle, friend and fellow graduate student, delivered the dissertation on time in Washington when I could not be there myself. Several friends at the Department of Recreation and Parks, Texas A & M University, helped me in editing and producing the final document: Ron McCarville, Deborah Parker, Vickie Stewart, and Marguerite van Dyke. My subjects in the town of Eatonville were generous in sharing their lives with me.

Above all, I thank my parents, Patricia and Robert Stokowski, and my aunt, Joan McCool, for believing that I would someday graduate.

PART 1

THE CURRENT STATUS OF
THE SOCIOLOGY OF LEISURE

This dissertation is concerned primarily with the social nature of "leisure," and with the analytic approaches employed by sociologists to describe and explain patterns of leisure in everyday life. The related issues of recreation, play, sport, and tourism are of interest in this discussion only insofar as they directly influence, and are influenced by, the structure and meaning of leisure in society.

Leisure is sociologically important because it is socially significant. In nomadic and agricultural societies, the work of survival, and the rest and play of leisure, were intertwined. Few distinctions existed between the activities of work and the activities of leisure: both overlapped in time and space. It was not until permanent settlements created a social division of labor that leisure became separate from work.

In Greek society, leisure was conceived as an "ideal" state of happiness which could be achieved only through contemplation and schooling by a few elite individuals. "Work" was what slaves, craftsmen, and artists did for a living, and "recreation" was restorative, "enabling the (Greeks) to get on with leisure" (Miller and Ditton 1986: 10).

A well-defined work ethic developed from religious and social conditions of the Middle Ages. Leisure, interpreted as "idleness," was seen as sinful (Kando 1975: 23). Work was valued for its moral and economic benefits. Play, recreation, and sport were appropriate for children, but not adults.

The Industrial Revolution reinforced the separation of leisure from work, and institutionalized the importance of "progress" in human affairs. Leisure was defined as "residual time after work" (Miller and Ditton 1986: 10) during which restorative activities (i.e., recreation or sport) could be undertaken. In addition, work values were applied to leisure time: it was socially appropriate to work at one's leisure. More recently, this value has been taken to its ultimate conclusion: some people work at a life-style called leisure. Leisure has become inseparable from work.

Each of these perspectives about leisure, work, and recreation forces a recognition of the role that leisure plays in society. The task of a sociologist is to identify and analyze current trends in the social importance of leisure, and to describe these trends in a scientific manner. In Part 1 of this dissertation, an analysis of the ways in which sociologists have traditionally attempted to describe and analyze the social importance of leisure is presented. This review is the basis for proposing a revised model of leisure in later chapters.

The conceptualizations derived in this paper depart rather dramatically from most traditional approaches in the study of leisure. This dissertation views "leisure" and "recreation" as two very distinct kinds of phenomena. The term recreation is used in this paper to refer to observable, play-like activity of any form or shape (indoor or outdoor, active or passive, performed alone or with others). Recreation refers to behaviors and actions.

Leisure, on the other hand, is used here to describe a domain of human communal experience where specific sentiments and meanings are attached to specific arrangements, or patterns, of social relationships and behaviors. Leisure is conceived as a particular context of social reality, the behaviors and meanings of which are created and objectified in day-to-day human encounters.

This dissertation suggests that the behaviors and meanings associated with leisure experiences are structured and patterned in the sense that they have a character distinct from other types of human experience (such as "work"). As a result, it is theoretically and empirically possible to trace patterns of leisure-related social relationships, behaviors, and meanings in community life. The revised model of leisure presented in this dissertation is an attempt to formalize both the theoretical requirements and the empirical procedures for the sociological study of leisure and recreation.

CHAPTER 1
PROBLEMS AND OPPORTUNITIES
IN THE SOCIOLOGY OF LEISURE

The study of the sociological aspects of leisure and recreation has achieved considerable popular and scholarly attention over the past 25 years. In academic circles, two scholarly journals -- the nearly 20-year old Journal of Leisure Research, and the younger Leisure Sciences -- publish multidisciplinary research papers analyzing how people participate in leisure and recreation as one part of their social lives. A new journal, Society and Natural Resources, expands the scientific focus to include lasting and durable societal issues in the study of people's use of and meanings about natural resources.

In addition, a national leisure research symposium, held in conjunction with meetings of leisure and recreation practitioners, occurs annually at the National Recreation and Parks Association Congress. Other professional meetings for social scientists concerned with recreation, leisure, tourism, and park management, are held regularly across the country and also internationally.

Despite all appearances of progress, however, the scope, content, and direction of the sociology of leisure still seems, at best, poorly specified. An important question remains unanswered: what, in fact, is sociologically significant about leisure or recreation? It appears that two decades of research about this topic have brought us only marginally closer to an answer.

Problems in the Sociology of Leisure

The inability of researchers to scientifically explain the social importance of leisure can be attributed to a number of factors (see Meyersohn (1969) for an often-cited early review of the field). In terms of theory, the multidisciplinary nature of leisure encourages diversity in thinking (Zuzanek 1982), but not theoretical consistency among studies. Kando (1975: 24) suggests that "the concept of leisure is intimately related to the historical and cultural context in which it is used," making broad theoretical formulation difficult. Three common philosophical views -- leisure conceived as "feeling," as "free time," or as "activity" -- have implied a sociological and psychological orientation for our research, but are not associated with even minimally-developed theories of leisure.

Further, it is troublesome to clearly (and continually) distinguish between the concepts of "leisure" and "recreation," and researchers who attempt to do so run the risk of stirring up antiquated philosophical debates that seem to have no solutions. Berger's (1962: 36) early analysis that "theoretical relevance is precisely what is missing from most of the contemporary empirical work in the sociology of leisure" seems appropriate even today.

In methodological terms, the tendency to define leisure by reference to "recreation behaviors" has resulted in an applied, problem-solving orientation for research. Many studies are devoted to detailing the socio-economic characteristics of visitors at recreation sites, and to cataloguing recreation behaviors, activities, and places. Research results are often not generalizable over space and time (Smith 1975). In addition, the current research focus on solving "visitor problems" for resource management agencies has institutionalized a functionalist perspective in leisure and recreation research. As Kelly (1980: 301) notes: "Most often leisure

sociologists have used the correlational analysis of survey data to investigate the determinative power of social position on leisure behavior." It is clear that interesting problems, studied from an applied perspective by well-meaning scholars, do not always yield coherent, relevant, logical sociologies.

Continuing Issues in the Sociology of Leisure

The theoretical and methodological issues detailed above suggest three dimensions of uncertainty in the sociology of leisure today. The first area of uncertainty relates to the scope of the field: what should the study of the sociology of leisure comprise? That is, what is the theoretical basis for the study of the interactions between leisure and society? How, and to what extent, does leisure involve coordinated social action, and what are the social consequences of such action? And, as a first step in addressing this issue, what exactly do we mean by the term "leisure," and how can it be considered to be a "social" phenomena?

Related to this is a second area of uncertainty which concerns the content of our studies: what is the subject matter of leisure and recreation? What are the real, personal and social, everyday-experiences of leisure and recreation in which people become involved? What meanings do these particular experiences have for people within the context of their broader social lives?

Finally, a third area of uncertainty is the issue of how we might best proceed to study the human experiences called leisure or recreation: that is, what methodological directions should our research studies take? What are the useful scientific procedures which researchers might employ to uncover regularities in people's experiences of leisure and recreation? Further, what methodological choices

have we, as an academy of scholars, already made which might constrain or liberate future attempts to address sociologically-relevant problems in the study of leisure and recreation?

These three sets of issues have considerable importance for future research in the sociology of leisure, not only in terms of theoretical and methodological development, but also in justification of our scholarship among other scientists. In the following pages of this chapter, I will discuss in detail the philosophical and theoretical basis for the sociology of leisure, and explain how current practices are unable to deal with some significant sociological problems. These discussions form the basis for proposing a new approach to research in the sociology of leisure later in this dissertation.

Basic Foundations of the Sociology of Leisure

What has the sociology of leisure been, and even more interestingly, what should it become? An applied area of study which proposes to merge concepts and theory from two different disciplines must be well-grounded in the significant ideas of both. A sociology of leisure should be definitive about the conceptual boundaries of the social phenomena called "leisure" and "recreation" -- and also should be versed in the appropriate theories, concepts, and methodologies of sociology which will be applied. In the history of research about the sociology of leisure, there is some question as to whether either of these needs have been fully met.

What is "Leisure" in the Sociology of Leisure?

While there is little agreement on a single definition of leisure, historical uses of the term suggest evident points of intersection between leisure and social affairs. Leisure is socially significant because societies objectify it and endow it with a human, social meaning. As a social object, leisure commonly assumes one of three forms. Historically, leisure has been defined as either an "attitude" or feeling of freedom, as a specific "time" period, or as a kind of social "activity".

The idea of leisure as "feeling" or "attitude" reflects an inner reality, where leisure is a product of subjective emotional and psychological processes (Pieper 1952; de Grazia 1962; Kerr 1962; Neulinger 1981). Pieper (1952: 40) describes leisure as "a mental and spiritual attitude...like contemplation, (it) is of a higher order than the active life." de Grazia (1962: 233) adds, "it is an ideal, a state of being, a condition of man, which few desire and fewer achieve." A typical illustration of this definition of leisure is the personal "feeling" which accompanies a moment of beauty, such as watching a sunset over the Grand Canyon.

The concepts of leisure as "time" and "activity" are similar in nature, but not content. Leisure defined as "time" refers to non-obligated, or discretionary, time left-over after the necessary commitments of work, family, and personal maintenance are met (Brightbill 1960; Clawson and Knetsch 1966; Kraus 1971; Brockman and Merriam 1973). Defined as "activity," leisure refers to "(self-determined) activity chosen primarily for its own sake" (Kelly 1982: 23; see also Dumazdier 1967, and Kaplan 1975).

Both definitions of leisure suggest a reality imposed from the outside: time and activities are "social objects," independent entities which, once created and defined, are assumed to stand in particular relation to an essentially passive subject. For example, when leisure is defined as "time left over after work," the implication is that work time -- rather than human intention -- structures leisure. One only has the opportunity for leisure when one is not working. In similar fashion, the characterization of leisure as activity implies that defining some set of objective procedures as an "activity" is enough to qualify it too as "leisure."

Some historical examples will illustrate the practical applications of these definitions. Greek society provides the classic example of leisure objectified as an "attitude," a state of mind, which approaches perfection. Greek society was built on the philosophy of an "ideal man" who would strive for perfection in arts and music, scholarly knowledge, sport, and military endeavors. To have leisure meant to achieve the "ideal." In this society, "the treasures of the mind were the fruits of (a man's) leisure....Leisure (contained) in itself all the joy and delight of life" (Huizinga 1950: 147).

Contrast this with Roman civilization, which exhibited a far-less idealized philosophy of man. The Roman society was utilitarian, and leisure and recreation facilities and entertainment were the just rewards of urban politicians and the upper classes. Huizinga (1950: 174) says: "The Roman Empire (was) a primitive community seeking to safeguard its interests by means of business relations...and materialistic ideals." Leisure, in this setting, meant activities undertaken for the pleasures of the rulers or the social control of the less-fortunate. Leisure was a social object which functioned to achieve the goals of "(establishing) pleasure, or freedom from pain, as the highest good" (van Ghent and Brown 1968: 6).

The Industrial Revolution provides a modern conception of social order which contrasts with both the Greek and Roman visions of the world. Kraus (1971: 169) notes that the Industrial Revolution had four major effects on American society: (1) it created a new urban society; (2) it established an industrial life style; (3) it created a strong work ethic; and (4) it encouraged recreation participation during time "left-over" after work. Leisure was a social object conceived as residual time or restorative time after work; it was the responsibility of each individual to make his or her leisure worthwhile. In a subtle fashion, the Industrial Revolution altered the basis for all human communal relationships, emphasizing the exchange/market value of progress. Catton (1972: 78), writing about his experiences growing up in northern Michigan during the lumber boom and decline years, explained this idea:

The object lesson was right under our noses if we had known what it meant. The lumber boom was over, which was another way of saying that the bigger part of a state had been treated not as a region where people might happily live, but as an expendable resource.... (T)he outside world that controlled our fate...had created a desert and called it progress.

The historical approaches to leisure as feeling, time, or activity, formalize the idea of "leisure" as a social object in human experience. These conceptualizations have generally implied a social significance for leisure. Presumably, the "leisurely attitude," or the "leisure activity" done in "free time," helps keep people healthy and happy, to the benefit of society as a whole. It is taken for granted that people contribute more productively to society if they experience a renewal of spirit, or revitalization and pleasure during leisure time and activities.

However, these definitions have limited theoretical utility in scientific, sociological analyses: they fail to specify how leisure exists within the broader context of socio-cultural reality. What seems to be missing from these views are propositions about how leisure is created from, and contributes to, the on-going

processes of social interactions and relationships in the context of day-to-day human experience. Sociologically, it seems reasonable to expect that while leisure might provide a context for the confirmation of the social objects of feeling, time, and activity, it should also be understood as something more personally and socially meaningful than these objectifications imply.

What is "Sociology" in the Sociology of Leisure?

Shibutani (1986: 5) defines sociology as "the study of social transactions of all kinds" -- that is, the study of "joint enterprises involving the coordinated efforts of two or more participants" (emphasis in original). He means by the term "social transactions" those common social interactions which engage people in day-to-day living, and which are, to one extent or another, organized forms of social behavior. These transactions have social consequences (whether intended or unintended) for the behavior of individuals, groups, and institutions. The study of sociology is concerned with how human interactions create social meanings for their participants, and with the social structures and processes which underly and give shape to these meanings.

Sociology as "Science." Sociology represents a discipline engaged in "scientific" study of human social phenomena. As such, it employs scientific procedures and perspectives for the empirical analysis of objective reality. What is meant by "objective reality" varies among sociological perspectives, though. Initially, sociologists pursued the same mechanistic model of reality as the natural scientists: the world was an orderly, machine-like system. Society was conceived as sets of external structures (groups, organizations, institutions) which exert causal

influence on individuals. People come to "know" reality by passively experiencing the qualities of objects and their cause/effect relationships. Under the "mechanistic model," the appropriate sociological theories are systems theories with structural and functional overtones.

The mechanistic model had shortcomings when applied to human affairs, though, particularly in accounting for "(human) intentions, meanings, values, and beliefs which are not "real" (in mechanistic models)" (Smith 1979: 4). Under newer "intentional models," an actor is seen as purposive, as having some control over the "creation" of reality, rather than having a world of independent objects "act on him." That is, society is created and re-created through the on-going processes of human social interaction. The appropriate theories under intentional models are those that tend towards interactionism, humanism, and phenomenology.

The Sociology of "Leisure"

The discussion about sociology as "science" provides a basis for assessing the progress of sociological applications in leisure and recreation research. The sociology of leisure had its origins in the pioneering work of the Outdoor Recreation Resources Review Commission reports of the early 1960s. Burdge (1983: 104) suggests, in fact, that these reports marked the beginnings of formal interest by social scientists from a variety of disciplines, not only sociology, in the study of leisure. The application of sociological principles to outdoor recreation situations was suggested in ORRRC Report Number 22 (Frank and 13 other authors 1962: 247):

The social frameworks within which people conduct their outdoor recreation activities have their own unique role assignments, status relationships, achievement norms, and so on. These special social structures are major links relating individuals to recreation resources, hence making it difficult to describe either users or resources, except as they are defined within the social context.

What is notable about this statement is the emphasis it places on "social structure" within recreation and free time pursuits, and the importance of social structures in mediating between people and resources. These two key issues were carried forward in much of the sociological literature about leisure over the next two decades.

These statements also imply a systems theoretic perspective for the study of leisure and recreation events. In fact, most of the early efforts to apply sociological principles in leisure and recreation had primarily structural and functional overtones, and represented applications of a mechanistic model of science. Leisure and recreation provided contexts for the healthy development of people in their free time; leisure was good for the community and good for individuals. The operationalization of leisure as "recreation activities which take place in free time" also seems to have developed from this time as well. The literature about the sociology of leisure is really, to a great extent, a literature about sociological aspects of recreation behavior. In essence, this is the "most operational" of the traditional approaches to defining leisure.

Since the initial efforts of the ORRRC report authors to describe the importance of a sociology of leisure, several leisure researchers have departed from the mechanistic, functional-systems perspective, and have promoted an interactionist view of leisure. In an early statement of the objectives of a sociology of leisure, Bennett Berger (1962: 45) wrote:

The sociology of leisure is that part of the sociology of culture which attempts to discover the moral character of a style of life by studying the behavior of groups under conditions where that behavior is least constrained by exclusively instrumental considerations.

Berger made the distinction between the instrumental relations of the workplace, and the less-constrictive informal social relations which seemed to govern the domain of leisure. Burch (1969: 144) reiterated this point, and suggested that: "It is the discovery of the operation and nature of these informal (normative constraints of leisure) which should occupy the sociologist." The merging of functional with interactionist ideas occurred in the early 1970s. This approach is outlined by Lee (1972: 68) as follows:

(I propose) a theory of leisure behavior that is linked to more comprehensive theories of sociocultural organization. It suggests that outdoor recreational settings might best be understood in terms of the meanings assigned to them by particular sociocultural groups.

This theme reflects the general scientific approach utilized in leisure and recreation research since the early 1970's. The focus has been on identifying how people are structurally organized at recreation places, and on describing group interactions as the source of leisure meanings.

One can conclude from this analysis that sociology, as applied in the study of leisure, is conventional and conservative. The theories and methods utilized generally favor mechanism, with some limited work using intentional theoretic perspectives. "Reality" is generally conceived as independent of the actors. Rarely explored in the sociology of leisure are more "unconventional" (relatively speaking) approaches to theorizing, such as those presented in existentialism, structuralism, phenomenology, and humanism. In the chapters which follow, some of these perspectives will be considered as the basis for a revised sociology of leisure.

CHAPTER 2

SOCIOLOGICAL RESEARCH ABOUT LEISURE: "SOCIAL GROUPS"

What is sociologically significant about leisure? In Chapter 1, we discussed the philosophical and theoretical grounding for the study of leisure from a sociological perspective. In this chapter, we consider empirical contributions to the study of the sociology of leisure. In particular, we will review a body of literature which claims to present a unique sociological focus for the study of leisure phenomena. This approach is called the "social groups model," and it has been the dominant paradigm in the sociology of leisure for the past 15 years.

Two research traditions have evolved in the sociology of leisure to study leisure and recreation phenomena (recall that much of the literature about leisure is really a literature about sociological aspects of recreation behavior): first, the "socioeconomic model," and following this, the "social groups model." The socioeconomic model is centered around the idea that leisure behavior can be explained by social class and social status variables. Visitors are randomly sampled, and information about socioeconomic characteristics (age, gender, education, income, race), is aggregated. The goal is to detect regularities in visitors' recreation participation habits which can be associated with the socioeconomic determinants.

But, standard socioeconomic variables have tended to be relatively poor predictors of the frequency of outdoor recreation participation. However, when a social group variable (such as participation with family, friends, or mixed groups) is included with the socioeconomic analyses, "the amount of variance explained with regard to frequency of participation in a specific activity increases significantly" (Field and O'Leary 1973: 23). The addition of a social groups variable is especially

reasonable since researchers observed repeatedly that people visit recreation places primarily with others, rather than alone, and that "the others usually constitute a recognizable social group" (Burdge, Buchanan, and Christensen 1981: 5, summarizing research findings of a number of authors). The remainder of this chapter is devoted to significant applications of the social groups model, and a critique of its usefulness for leisure research.

Literature Review

Foundations of the Social Groups Model

The first appearance of the social groups concept in writings about leisure and recreation appears in the 1962 reports of the Outdoor Recreation Resources Review Commission. As mentioned in Chapter 1, these reports also provided a basis for preliminary formulations of the sociology of leisure as well. In Report Number 20, the authors analyze findings of a national survey of recreation participation and suggest that "one appeal of outdoor recreation is the opportunity it affords for fellowship with family, friends, and colleagues" (Mueller and Gurin 1962: 37). They continue:

The notion that the widespread participation in outdoor recreation has to some extent a social base is supported by our findings....Often (people) said they became interested in (an) activity because it was something they wanted to do with their spouse and children....That these activities are enjoyable and that they lend themselves to group participation are not contradictory findings. The possibility that outdoor recreation plays a social role would help to explain the rapid growth and widespread participation in outdoor activities.

The idea that social aspects of recreation might influence participation was also suggested by the authors of ORRRC Report Number 5 (Department of Resource Development, Michigan State University 1962) in a study of satisfactions received from visiting parks. Data were collected from recreationists at 20 park and forest areas across the United States. In this study, the authors defined the term "user group" to include the following: (1) single families with or without children, (2) two or more families together, (3) a family plus friends and relatives, (4) a group of friends, (5) an organized group such as a team, troop, or club, and (6) one person alone.

This usage marked a departure from the traditional procedure of aggregating recreationists by socioeconomic characteristics (for example, describing as a "user group" all visitors over 65 years old to Washington state parks). The importance of the revised usage cannot be underestimated: it changed the research focus from characteristics of individuals, to characteristics of people in relation to one another during recreation events. And, the delineation of group types provided a formal taxonomy adopted in all the recreation research about social groups which followed.

The ORRRC writings set the stage for the definition and refinement of the social groups model in recreation research. Unfortunately, however, the ORRRC contributions are rarely acknowledged by later social groups researchers, perhaps because the reports are acclaimed more widely for their pioneering use of large-scale survey methodology and statistical analysis techniques applied to problems of recreation demand.

The first published study to confirm the ORRRC proposals concerning the importance of social groups at recreation places was Etzkorn's (1964) study of the social aspects of camping. While attempting to determine the "recreational values" which campers place on their experience, the author was surprised to find that:

More startling than the (socioeconomic) regularities would seem to be the tendency among the studied campers of not relating the benefits of their camping adventure to the particular natural resources provided at this facility. Instead...they seem to derive major satisfactions from the social resources of the social system of the camp. (p. 78)

Etzkorn discovered that camping at public campgrounds was primarily an activity done by family groups, and suggested that campers were attracted to the activity because "the social relationships of the camp provide...opportunities to maximize satisfactions from (similar) social interests among the campers" (p. 86) when camper-groups share similar interests. In hindsight, this study raises an important issue that was incompletely addressed in later social groups research: the distinction between "within group" and "between groups" interactions at recreation places.

That is, the social group one goes to a recreation place with has its own sets of relational connections; involvements with other visitor groups on-site create possibilities for the formation of new sets of communal social relationships and their attendant requirements. It seems likely that both kinds of relational ties would affect the success of the recreation experience. Etzkorn's systems view provides a rationale for the link between social interaction and recreation satisfactions. In addition, this study lays the groundwork for applying the social groups model in studies about a variety of recreation contexts, settings, and activities. Surprisingly, this study is also infrequently-cited.

Another early effort to theoretically ground the social groups of recreation concept in sociological principles came from Burch in 1969. He proposed a "personal community" hypothesis, as the basis for recreation behavior, suggesting that "the nature of the intimate social circles which surround the individual may be the crucial determinant of variation in leisure behavior" (p. 125). That is, people are likely to be influenced into specific recreation choices and styles based on socialization patterns which result from the close personal relationships they sustain with family and friends.

The social circles hypothesis implies an interactionist theory, though Burch does not explicitly state this. The importance of his work is in redirecting the research focus from the on-site aggregate called a social group, to the influence of life-style and socialization patterns in a social context of family and friends outside of recreation events. He suggests implicitly that social groups on-site are dependent on linkages between people in social circles off-site. The social circles idea was hypothetical -- unfortunately, few researchers operationalized it in later studies.

One other paper which attempted to provide a basis for the study of phenomena known as leisure was Cheek's (1971) analysis of what he termed "work/not-work" concepts. He described leisure as a societal institution characterized by behaviors and informal social organization particular to "not-work" activity. That is, people usually participate in not-work (leisure) activity as members of "social groups," but participate in work activities as individual, "social persons." Not-work settings differ from work settings in that they require activities which "build interindividual

identification (such as gestures of appreciation) and generate intergroup solidarity (such as sharing of social goods)" (p. 251). Cheek suggests that understanding these basic differences in social structure and organization requirements might provide a fruitful starting point for the development of a coherent body of theory in leisure studies.

Cheek's work/not-work distinctions have provided a basis for analyzing the social organization of people at recreation places. To ask "how is a non-work activity structurally different from a work activity" was the first important question that he posed. To understand how social organization was comparable between and among non-work activities was a further abstraction which provided direction for studies in the social groups tradition which followed.

Applications of the Social Groups Model: The Social Organization of Visitors On-Site

Recreation Activities and Places. The potential of the social groups model seemed apparent in the early and mid-1970's, when a variety of research studies incorporated social group variables into their analyses. Burdge and Field (1972), reviewing empirical approaches in the study of outdoor recreation, encouraged the use of social group variables to focus on "the characteristics of groups engaged in leisure pursuits" (p. 65). Field and O'Leary (1973) combined social groups variables with social and demographic aggregate variables to predict participation in water-based recreation activities such as swimming, fishing, power boating, and visiting a beach. Christensen and Yoesting (1973), in a survey of Iowa households, determined that "an individual's use of recreation facilities is related to his 'personal communities', (that is) the influence of his family, friends, workmates, and relatives"

(p.12). Cheek (1976), studying visitors to zoological parks, reported that 96 percent of adults sampled visited zoos with other people: "The social groups with which they had gone were comprised of relatives, friends, and occasionally a neighbor, with very few groups including people from their work, clubs, or sporting groups" (p. 54). Moreover, at the zoo, visitors tended not to interact with other visitors outside their immediate social groups (p.56). Manning (1986) summarizes the history and development of the social groups model in recreation and leisure research.

Leisure "Meanings". The specific qualities of leisure settings which affect both activity participation patterns and social group composition have been the subject of a number of research studies (Bultena and Klessig 1969; Lucas 1970; Knopp 1972; Cheek and Burch 1976; Lee 1977; McCool 1978; Cheek, Field, and Burdge 1978; Baumgartner and Heberlein 1981). In a departure from the more categorical (typological) approaches to describing social groups at recreation places, Lee (1972) suggested that meanings attributed to the recreation experience are created by social groups who use outdoor recreation areas for different purposes. Because leisure meanings are created socially, they become objectified by recreation participants and incorporated into recreation subcultures. Lee proposes that: "The type of use that organized groups make of physical spaces (such as neighborhood open areas, parks, or beaches) is important in determining the definition of place they will share" (p. 71).

One outdoor setting which has received detailed attention under the social groups model is the context of water-based recreation. Field and Cheek (1974) studied the relationship between water-based activities and specific natural resource

areas, concluding that "recreation areas are defined by users as leisure (settings), rather than as (specific) activity sites" (p. 1220). Their later work (Field and Cheek 1981; Cheek and Field 1977) extends this same point. They suggest (Cheek and Field 1977: 67) that:

While participation in water-based activities requires a water resource, the array of participation patterns reported suggests that resource bases defined as recreation places provide a wide range of opportunities for non-resource-dependent recreation activities. One conclusion is that resource bases cannot be distinguished by the recreation activities occurring on them.

If the distinguishing feature of recreation places is not the activities which occur on-site, then either the setting itself or the social groups who visit there may be responsible for variation in recreation behaviors. Buchanan, Christensen, and Burdge (1981) review the literature about social groups as centers of meanings within recreation activities, and argue that "the source of different meanings within an activity (may be) different social groups" (p. 256). In a complementary study using similar items from a recreation experience preference scale, Allen and Donnelly (1985: 421) found that "there is a strong relationship between social units of participation and reasons for participation." They continue, "(while) the type and degree of social interaction desired varies with the social unit of participation,...the primary reasons for participation...remain relatively stable."

If the creation of leisure meaning depends, to some extent, on social group interaction, it would be desirable to know the specific social processes responsible for their creation. Though the literature has been rather vague on this point, one particularly ambitious research program which has attempted to grapple with an

aspect of the "meanings" issue is the literature on recreational carrying capacity (Absher and Lee 1981; Twight, Smith, and Wissinger 1981; Shelby, Heberlein, Vaske, and Alfano 1983; Graefe, Vaske, and Kuss 1984; Stankey and McCool 1984).

The intent of these studies has been to describe the dimensions of a "social carrying capacity" for persons at recreation places. While the intent is to provide a social explanation, the unit of analysis is typically the individual person. Manning (1985: 62) summarizes the carrying capacity literature in the following manner:

(C)rowding in outdoor recreation has been suggested as a normative concept: increasing use density is negatively interpreted as crowding only when it is perceived to interfere with one's objectives or values.

The carrying capacity literature suggests that "meanings" arise from the social processes within the recreation event, and influence overall satisfaction with the outdoor experience (Becker 1978). Schreyer and Roggenbuck (1978) explain that "(perceptions of crowding) are a function of the different expectations people may have for given recreational experiences" (p. 373). To the extent that satisfaction is positive, perceptions of crowding are not reinforced, and recreators are likely to return to the activity or site for later, similar recreation experiences.

The carrying capacity research is not entirely successful in explaining "leisure meanings" in recreation experiences. It has a number of theoretical and methodological limitations (see Burch 1981. Later, Burch [1984: 488] comments: "Never has so much been said by so many on a topic of such inconsequential irrelevance.") Despite these limitations, the social carrying capacity debate forces us to confront the question which remains yet unanswered: what exactly is the social experience of leisure?

Family and Life Style. While much of the social groups literature in recreation and leisure has developed around studies of recreationists on-site at recreation places, a small part has also developed from the study of families and leisure contexts across life stages. This research can be seen as a theoretical extension of the "social circles hypothesis" proposed by Burch in 1969. Though existing research in this area has been primarily exploratory, the potential richness of the topic is evident. The sociometric and interactionist approaches implied by this tradition in the social groups model would appear to have distinct benefits for the study of dyadic and small group interactions, family life cycle issues, socialization, childhood development for recreation and leisure, and aging.

The concept of a "family life cycle" has provided a developmental perspective for researchers attempting to predict recreation behaviors. One well-conceived study of social interaction in the family group as a whole is West and Merriam's (1970) study of the effects of recreational camping for sustaining and increasing "family cohesiveness." Cohesiveness was measured as the amount of intimate communication in the family social group. The authors propose that "early stages in the family life cycle are associated with greater family outdoor activity and higher scores on family cohesiveness" (p. 256).

The importance of the family setting for learning recreation activities, and the influence of family and friends on leisure socialization, has been studied by Kelly (1974), and Yoesting and Christensen (1978). Kelly's (1978) studies of family recreation participation conclude that: "Leisure associations and orientations change during family life cycles...(but) family interaction is seen as a most important component" (p. 47) for satisfaction in recreation activities. The amount of time for

leisure, the types of activities chosen, the frequency of participation, and the social orientation of participation (that is, which other partners are involved in the recreation activity) are variables which seem to be influenced by the developmental stage of the family (Holman and Epperson 1984, in a review of the literature).

Dyadic interaction between husbands and wives has been hypothesized to affect leisure sociability and recreation participation. Orthner (1976) studied the extent of joint participation by spouses in recreation activities, and compares this with the amount of communication and task-sharing in the marriage. His results indicate that "interaction in leisure is related to interaction in marriage, but this varies over the marital career" (p. 98). Orthner and Mancini (1978) questioned whether learning "certain patterns of leisure interaction" as a child member of a family social group later influences "marital sociability" (defined as the proportion of available discretionary time spent with one's spouse during a given time period; p. 365). They conclude that "marital sociability may be more dependent on a constellation of factors currently operating in a marriage than in parental role modelling" (p. 369).

While these two studies are notable for their conceptual focus on "interaction processes" relative to leisure, they fail to provide any theoretical advancement. Both studies suffer from weak conceptualization of key variables (interaction, sociability, leisure). Both also fall victim to the "more is better" syndrome: more task sharing, more communication, and more activities done together, are valued as "more desirable," when, in fact, no evidence is given to justify that claim.

A current topic of interest in the literature on social groups and life style is "aging," with specific attention devoted to the relationships between leisure participation and life satisfaction of older persons (McAvoy 1979; Guinn 1980; Godbey and Blazey 1983; Spreitzer and Snyder 1983). Ragheb and Griffeth (1982: 304) speculate that:

Gaining a sense of accomplishment from engaging in (recreation) activities, gaining self-confidence, utilizing one's skills and abilities, and doing an interesting activity, are (components of leisure satisfaction which) are important to one's life satisfaction.

While the current research on aging is primarily exploratory, this area of study is a potentially rich application of the social groups model.

Refinement of the Social Groups Model. Some recent evaluative papers have attempted to judge how well the social groups model has served leisure and recreation research over the past quarter-century. Christensen (1980) re-analyzed Field and O'Leary's (1973) combination of social group plus social aggregate variables in studies of water-based recreation activities. Using path analytic methods to isolate expected mathematical relationships between variables, he demonstrated that a confounding of variables occurs at the "point of intersection" where a social group variable (for example, participation in a fishing group) meets a social aggregate variable (for example, age). He says:

This ambiguity results from the fact that it is not possible to determine the expected change in the level of participation in fishing for a unit change in age. This circumstance results because it is not known if the change in age also brings about changes in the social group in which one participates in fishing, which in turn (may) affect age. (p. 350)

Christensen concludes that a social group variable is not useful unless researchers specify theoretically the points of intersection where social group and social aggregate variables might interact with one another.

In another critical analysis of the social groups model, Dottavio, O'Leary, and Koth (1980) compare the predictive power of socioeconomic variables versus social group variables in explaining two aspects of a dependent recreation variable (frequency of participation, and high/low participation). Using data from a statewide outdoor recreation demand study, they found that:

The social group was a more effective explanatory variable of participation in outdoor recreation activities than were socioeconomic/demographic variables....(However) when the dependent variable was specified as high or low participation...the effect of the social group decreased and the effect of socioeconomic/demographic variables increased. (p. 364)

The authors attribute the changing contributions of each independent variable to the more, or less, precise specification of the dependent variable ("frequency" is recorded as an increasing numerical count; "high/low participation" is a dichotomy). The conclusion reached by these authors, and also by Christensen, is that specification of key variables relative to social groups is a necessary step for achieving both theoretical and practical progress in recreation research.

Critique

The importance of the social groups model for recreation and leisure studies is well-documented in the research literature. For two decades, the model has enjoyed a prominent position in sociological research on leisure and recreation, supplanting an

earlier reliance on gathering primarily socioeconomic data. Burdge, Buchanan, and Christensen (1981: 5) summarize: "Studies have shown that much outdoor recreation occurs in the presence of others, and that others usually constitute a recognizable social group." These groups can be identified and categorized with respect to their involvement in recreation behaviors.

The use of the social groups model in recreation research marks both a philosophical turning point and also a change in empirical approaches to studying recreators. The model moves us beyond an early, narrow focus on describing socioeconomic attributes of visitors at recreation sites, and toward analyses of social group interactions and their importance for recreation behavior. The social groups model offers the opportunity to consider various social and psychological hypotheses which relate group interactions and social organization to recreation behavior. Recreation and leisure are therefore conceived as more than just a static reality which exist independent of human intention.

The social groups model is set apart from traditional recreation research by a number of loosely-connected propositions. Most important is the assumption that recreation is a social experience: people recreate with other people like themselves. The model implies that what happens "between people" during recreation is important for the quality of the recreation experience. Further, the social groups model separates "leisure" (operationalized as recreation activities) from other domains of human experience, such as work.

The social groups model directs our attention to how people organize themselves in recreation, and provides a taxonomy of potential groups for consideration (family, friends, mixed family and friends groups). Research results

indicate that different kinds of social groups exhibit different organizing processes, norms of behavior, and patterns of communication -- and therefore display variations in recreation behaviors.

The social groups model is sometimes popularized as a "theory of leisure." It is not. It is a descriptive model which provides a bridge between several practical socio-psychological theories (family development, small group interactions, norms and roles, organizational processes), and specific hypotheses about patterns of recreation behaviors (participation rates, crowding, socialization into activities, family interactions in leisure). The social groups model provides a framework for addressing sociological concerns about recreation. A theory of leisure still remains unspecified.

It is precisely for these reasons that the social groups model may be considered incomplete. Even after all this research, we have little conception of the "experience of leisure" as realized by recreators. The social groups model describes how people "group" to perform recreation activities, but does not describe the meaning structures of leisure reality-as-experienced. The model substitutes "recreation activity participation" for leisure process.

In addition, few studies consider the implications of broader social ties and connections on recreation behavior. People have various interpersonal ties outside of recreation which probably influence the development and organization of social groupings at recreation places. Burch's "personal community hypothesis" and some of the work on the importance of family for recreation involvements suggest this, but are exceptions. In general, we usually meet recreators as members of social groups at

recreation places, and are left wondering: How did they get there? Where did they come from? Where are they going after recreation? Why are they here and not somewhere else? We do not know what generates leisure groupings, nor what these groupings mean for future social (recreational or not-recreational) involvement.

The social groups model is limited to a "Noah's Ark" explanation of recreation behavior. In the same way that animals got two-by-two into the Ark, recreators are seen to go -- social group by social group -- to recreation places. The simplicity is appealing in the case of a 40-day flood, but the vision is misleading when applied to recreation behavior. First, people do not just appear on-site at recreation places: they come from somewhere, and return to some place after recreation. Second, it is conceivable that not all social groups of the same type are, in fact, similar. For example, "family groups" at a summer campground may be quite dissimilar in both demographic and social interaction characteristics from other family groups there, or from family groups at a winter ski resort.

Third, the simple taxonomy of family, friends, or mixed groups, masks a complex arrangement of interaction patterns and relationships. A "group" need not always be a group: there are many different kinds of associations (dyads, small groups, formal role relations, cliques, general ties of sociability) which may have a standing in the course of a recreation experience. Additionally, the tendency to focus solely on small group composition, to the exclusion of other potentially important characteristics (such as group size, communication structure, frequency of interaction, reciprocity, extended ties to others outside the group) indicates a limited attention to social theory.

The social groups model, as conceived by recreation researchers, promises more than it delivers. The tendency to adopt a taxonomy of groups without a close attention to theory is a major shortcoming of this research program. The social groups model does not generate theories of leisure, nor does it attend to developments in social theory.

All too often, recreation researchers using the social groups model fail to update their knowledge in advance of their research. Significant writing in other disciplines goes unnoticed (see especially the family development literature in sociology and psychology). Reliance on a single philosophical tradition persists, despite evidence that other views might also inform the research effort. For example, one often hears the term "the recreation (or leisure) system," following a functional perspective, while the perspectives of interactionism or phenomenology are ignored.

In addition, methodology and data analysis techniques do not keep pace with goals of explaining group interactions. For example, sociometric techniques are all but ignored, while social groups are counted, categorized, and processed through a statistical equation. Sometimes even the linkages between recreation research projects goes unnoticed. Clawson and Knetsch (1966) developed an early paradigm of the "recreation experience" which involved five phases: (1) anticipation, including planning; (2) travel to the recreation site; (3) the on-site experience; (4) return travel; and (5) recollection. This is a provocative, encompassing systems model about recreation behavior, yet social groups researchers usually attend to only the on-site aspects of it.

It is time to re-think our attachment to the social groups model. The model is an oversimplification of recreation behavior, and ignores the broader aspects of social relationships for recreation and leisure. The model has been popularized to the point where the abstract concept of "social group" has been interpreted as a real, objective entity in recreation systems. The idea of social "process" has been ignored.

CHAPTER 3
REQUIREMENTS OF A REVISED
SOCIOLOGY OF LEISURE

In the two previous chapters, we have considered the question "how is leisure sociologically significant?" Historical approaches suggest that leisure experiences have a unique order which appears to be distinct from the structure and meaning of other types of human experience, such as "work". Leisure is described as socially organized, non-random behavior which has inherent meaning for participants, and contains larger socio-cultural meanings as well. The results of past sociological research about leisure can be summarized as follows:

1. Leisure is significant because it involves recreation activities which occur in "free time" (i.e., non-work time).
2. Leisure is significant because it contains some pleasurable affect for participants.
3. Leisure is significant because it has a structure different from other social involvements: people are usually involved in leisure as members of social groups, rather than as singles.

While these three reasons are adequate illustrations of why leisure might be considered sociologically significant, none of them clearly explains the nature of the social structure and social meaning which is presumed to exist in leisure. These illustrations confirm the fact that leisure is a social object, but fail to explain the human intention which makes it so. The ways in which leisure might be part of the larger context of social and cultural life remain unspecified.

Analysis

As suggested in Chapters 1 and 2, the research agenda of the sociology of leisure is conservative in approach and intent. That is, the research program centers around a relatively out-dated social scientific model (mechanism), and so applies theory and methodology that are, in many respects, limiting.

Mechanism

The "sociologies" which derive from the first 25 years of leisure research are propositional, and reflect scientific world-views which were prevalent during those times. The early sociology of leisure supports the gradual definition of the scope of the field around a positivism based on a rational, mechanistic model. This model assumes that "all actors (are) socialized into a culturally specific, but generally shared set of symbols, meanings, and values" (Filstead 1976: 62).

The task of a sociology under this framework is to "discover" the independent reality which is shared and experienced by all persons. In leisure research, we have defined that "reality" as either time, activity, or feeling. In addition, we have looked for patterns in the composition of groups at recreation places which allow members to share certain "realities" (i.e., leisure meanings, norms, satisfactions). In all instances, the approaches are deterministic, and the realities are independent of human intention. That is, we study the ways in which people respond to the given realities of recreation, not the ways by which people create the realities of leisure.

Intentionalism

The intentional model was proposed in sociology to account for deficiencies in mechanistic approaches. Social science adaptations to traditional mechanism arose from a need to account for "the intentions, meanings, values, and beliefs (that people "create") and which are not seen as 'real'" under the natural science model (Smith 1979). In the sociology of leisure, the salient features of this intentional model have been evident primarily in the research on social meanings created by social group members at recreation places.

Recently, there have been several independent suggestions in the research literature of the sociology of leisure promoting qualitative applications of the intentional model to recreation and leisure studies. Interestingly, these quiet stirrings have come not from persons who have traditionally been allied with social groups research. For example, Harper (1981; 1986) proposes utilizing a method of "descriptive phenomenology" to understand leisure as individual "experience;" unfortunately, he does not explicitly describe the procedures of this analysis. However, he does suggest that phenomenology can provide the basis for deriving testable hypotheses about the "basic structure of lived experience" (1981: 120).

Howe (1985) outlines a qualitative paradigm for analyzing individual leisure meanings in coordination with their social, behavioral outcomes. Shaw (1985) uses a symbolic interactionist approach to study the meaning of leisure in people's everyday lives; she describes "meaning" as an individual (not social) "definition of the situation." Likewise, Kelly (1983; 1986) discusses "leisure styles" from an interactionist position. Samdahl (1988) combines qualitative and quantitative analyses in discussing the requirements of a symbolic interactionist theory of leisure.

Each of these approaches represents initial attempts to utilize distinctly intentional models in the study of leisure and recreation.

"Dis-Order"

Recent liberal approaches to the study of science and knowledge appear to be producing a new scientific paradigm which is both displacing mechanism, and also revising the intentional model. The new perspective is concerned with "dis-order," and is based on the discovery that human and natural systems behave, more often than we would like to think, unpredictably. Berlinski (1986: 80) comments: "The fact that science is only partially successful suggests that only parts of our experience are even partially regular." Gleick (1987) reviews the beginnings of this "science of chaos" from the natural sciences perspective. Giddens (1984) presents, from the standpoint of a social scientist, a "theory of structuration" which considers similar issues.

LeShan and Margenau (1982: 16) say: "(when) entities are too small to be, even theoretically, seen or touched, concepts such as size, shape, surface, and motion, change or even lose the meanings they had." They continue (p. 28): "The great discovery of the present-day revolution is that...the structure (of the world) is up to us, and different formulations of it must be used...to attain different goals." Though the purpose of this paper is not to push the limits of this new science, it is wise to note that the sociology of leisure appears to be falling even farther behind current developments in scientific thinking.

What Is Needed?

The conclusions from the first two chapters, then, result in a three-part research imperative for the study of leisure. First, researchers need to study leisure not only as an object, but as a "context of social experience" within which social processes might occur. An interactionist theory is required. Second, we need to account for "time" as an element in the social context of leisure, where behaviors and meanings relative to leisure have both a past and a future coherence, rather than simply an on-site performance. Third, there is a need to shift the focus away from individuals as the unit of analysis, and towards "social relationships between people." Under an intentional perspective, it is within the context of social relationships that leisure is made socially "real."

What is needed scientifically is a way to comprehend the social reality of leisure -- the reality that makes leisure meaningful in the social experiences of people. To define leisure simply as time, activity, or feeling separates individuals from the broader social relationships and social processes in which they participate. Furthermore, the focus remains solely on the individual, rather than on the individual-in-relation-to-other-people, some of whom are also connected to one another.

People have social histories; they do not simply appear during free time at recreation places to take part in activities which give them good feelings. People come from some place first, and are returning somewhere after, recreation. And, along the way, they are meeting, travelling with, visiting, conversing with, watching, and listening to, other people. Our traditional approaches to the study of leisure fail to consider a most important principle: that people stand in relation to one another socially before, during, and after, leisure.

It is in this respect that social relationships provide the structure, order, and coherence to make leisure and recreation "real" and "meaningful." Absent from our understanding of leisure as socially-significant phenomena is knowledge of the broad social network of relationships which structure recreation behaviors.

Sociological thinking about leisure should be concerned with how the extended range of social contacts, ties, and relationships surrounding an individual might encourage or prohibit recreation opportunities. The structure and meaning of a person's social relationships both within and outside of recreation participation should be the focus of our research attention.

A sociology of leisure should not be only the study of social groups, but also the study of the social nature of involvements which stem from a variety of social structural arrangements. Many forms of social structure could have importance in this regard: persons in dyads, extended ties with small and large social groups and cliques, stronger and weaker ties with significant others, formal organizational affiliation, and general ties of sociability. A new model of leisure which is sensitive to relationships between people in a broad social community context is warranted.

A Revised Sociology of Leisure

Under an intentional perspective, leisure can be conceived as a particular kind of social reality which is constructed and objectified in day-to-day encounters (after Berger and Luckmann 1966). I expect that the behaviors and meanings associated

with leisure experiences are structured and patterned, in the sense that they have an order distinct from other types of human experience (such as "work"). I believe that it is theoretically and empirically possible to trace patterns of leisure-related social relationships, behaviors, and meanings in community life.

The approach presented in this paper is a "relational model of leisure". This approach attempts to identify and describe the kinds of social relationships which occur in the context of leisure, and compares these with other, non-leisure relations. In this way, relationships of leisure are given a place within the broad "social networks of community" -- the identifiable, persistent social ties and relations between people which are based on sentiment and belongingness (Bender 1978). The network perspective suggests that people live in worlds of potentially expansive and diverse social connections. Why individuals consistently and repetitively choose specific others for recreation partners is the issue of significance.

To summarize: what is needed in the sociology of leisure is a way to move theorizing about leisure into an intentional perspective, in order that we may study the processes of social involvement which underly leisure behaviors and meanings. I believe the way to accomplish this is to adopt a phenomenological approach which allows us to study how persons "create" the reality they call leisure and recreation. Since meanings arise from social interaction, it is also necessary to consider the qualities of the social structures which people create -- the networks of social relationships they invite and maintain -- for leisure purposes. I consider these theoretical perspectives to be the basis of a revised sociology of leisure. In Part 2 of this dissertation, the formalization of the revised approach to leisure is presented.

PART 2

THEORETICAL AND METHODOLOGICAL
BASIS FOR A REVISED SOCIOLOGY OF LEISURE

In Part 2 of this dissertation, the foundations of a revised sociology of leisure are described. The new formulation is based on the conceptualization of leisure as a "social context" containing specific non-instrumental, interpersonal relationships, arranged within community social networks. Through these patterned social ties, people cooperatively and actively create social meanings which are "real" in their day-to-day experiences.

This definition includes three key ideas: first, the notion of the "social construction of reality"; second, the concept of "social relationships"; and third, the image of a "social network." These ideas are discussed in the following chapters from the perspective of an intentional frame of reference to the sociology of leisure. The philosophical and theoretical demands of the model require that micro-level analyses of social interactions and social relationships are located within macro-level analyses of social network structures. That is, leisure behaviors and meanings are a product of the structural arrangements resulting from interpersonal involvements.

The theoretical approach suggested in this paper requires the review and analysis of some diverse literatures which are traditionally outside the scope of recreation and leisure studies. A phenomenological perspective, discussed in Chapter 4, maintains that people "construct" the social realities in which they live. That is, people cooperatively, socially, create behaviors, structures, and meanings which are assumed to be "real" in human experience. The construction of reality occurs socially through communication in social interaction, presupposing involvement in social relationships.

The interesting sociological question is how multiple social relationships are arranged and ordered -- how networks of relationships are "structured" by persons who intend consequences and who believe their actions have meaning. This dissertation is particularly concerned with a subset of these multiple social relationships: the set of relations which involve the context of leisure and the activities of recreation. How these relations are ordered, what different arrangements of ties mean for the creation of "leisure" realities, and how leisure realities "fit" within the broader social context of people's lives, are the issues considered in this dissertation.

The theoretical basis for this dissertation is as follows: social realities are cooperatively "created" (constructed) by persons through social interaction within social relationships. These social relationships can be analyzed as patterned relations within social networks of community. Phenomenological and structural approaches to the sociology of leisure provide the basis for this analysis, and are described in the following two chapters. In Chapter 6, a statement of the revised model of leisure is proposed.

Throughout these chapters, it is important to keep in mind that phenomenology and structuralism are separate traditions in the social sciences. Moreover, phenomenology is not the "theory of" structural analysis, and structuralism is not the "method of" phenomenology. Both traditions complement one another, however, and it is the position of this paper that both can be used together to address important applied problems in the study of leisure and recreation.

CHAPTER 4

PHENOMENOLOGICAL SOCIOLOGY

The basic assumptions of most sciences, natural and social included, is that there exists an objectively-given, independent reality (either a priori, or created) which is discoverable through scientific reasoning processes and methods. Phenomenology adopts the scientific attitude, but suspends judgement on the prior assumptions of an existing reality. A phenomenologically-based sociology is "not a unified theory -- but a set of assumptions about critical theoretical approaches" (Turner 1982: 399; see also Skidmore 1979) within an intentional scientific perspective.

Phenomenological Theorizing

Phenomenology originated within the philosophical debate over the human experience and knowledge of "reality" (Stewart and Mickunas 1974: 129). The German philosopher Husserl provided the initial statement of a theory of "transcendental consciousness" where individual social action "is conducted in a life world that is taken for granted and that is presumed to be experienced collectively as real" (Turner 1982: 392). Alfred Schutz, an Austrian sociologist, grounded Husserl's philosophical approach in sociological interactionist theorizing. In this regard, he was influenced strongly by the work of G.H. Mead (Turner 1982; Smith 1979). Smith describes the importance of Mead's work for Schutz's thinking as follows:

For the purposes of justifying meaning as objectively 'real', the works of G.H. Mead are of special importance....Mead places man in a meaningful (intentional) world, and makes meanings social (a man cannot generate a meaning on his own.) (p. 11)

Schutz proposed that the world became meaningful as phenomena constituted in day-to-day living by individuals within the context of their social relationships (Wagner 1970: 16). That is, knowledge and meaning are created through the intersubjective experience of human interaction. Hamilton (1974: 135) explains this point further:

Our perceptions of reality are formed by the activity of social interaction, but not in some abstracted sense in which reality is external to the individual: interaction is the mechanism by which reality itself is constructed by social actors.

A key point in phenomenological theorizing is that the "individual" is not a single entity in the traditional senses of "one person," but rather a "social person" who is a collection of all past and present social experiences and influences. (Thus, the "leisure feelings" of a sunset experienced alone would be described in phenomenological terms as feelings interpreted as leisure, based on past social constructions and understandings of the term.) One person alone, from a phenomenological view, is always "one person in relation to others."

There are several unique components of sociological theorizing which set this approach apart from more conventional sociological approaches. First is the emphasis on studying the common, everyday world of people. Berger and Luckmann (1966: 19) remark: "Everyday life presents itself as a reality interpreted by men and subjectively meaningful to them as a coherent world." It is in the world of everyday life that people become involved in the social relationships which provide them with knowledge and give meaning to their experiences. In day-to-day social interactions, people achieve consensus and understanding about "what is real."

A second unique feature of phenomenological theorizing is the emphasis on the social relationships which regularly occur. Wagner (1970: 30) explains Schutz's writings on the subject of relationships as follows:

Social interaction involves the social action of at least two people who orient themselves upon each other. And living in the world of everyday life, in general, means living in an interactional involvement of many persons, being entangled in complex networks of social relationships.

The social relationships Schultz described are sustained in a "communicative common environment" (Wagner 1970: 31), where people use verbal and nonverbal strategies of communication in an attempt to reach consensus about their lived experiences. The term "social network" here is Wagner's metaphorical interpretation of Schutz's definition, and implies that people have many concurrent relations of different kinds (from the immediate "we-relations" to more distant "observer relations") which they participate in as day-to-day occurrences. Phenomenology, therefore, provides an intellectual bridge between individual meaning and social relational structures which produce meaning, providing that "Any analysis of social structures must be in terms wholly dependent on interpretive criteria, involving understanding of the meanings which social relations have for those who engage in them" (Hamilton 1974: 136).

Social reality, therefore, is not a naturally-existing, objective occurrence -- but a meaningful "creation" or "construction" arising from people's intersubjective relationships (Luckmann 1978). This is the third unique feature of phenomenological theorizing: the intentional, social construction of realities. The phenomenological agenda attempts to account for not only what individuals know, but what societies accept as socially real knowledge (see Berger and Luckmann 1966, The Social Construction of Reality). As Hamilton (1974: 136) points out: "All knowledge is thus a construction produced in human interaction."

Phenomenology approaches reality from the view of the interacting participants. As such, it represents an intentional, not mechanistic, scientific perspective. For this reason, data gathering methods which allow the researcher to "see the world from the point of view of actors who participate in it (are required)...(the researcher) must spend time in the natural environment of those being studied" (Filstead 1976: 65). These methods are principally ethnographic, qualitative and "naturalistic" (Lofland and Lofland 1984; Lincoln and Guba 1985; Agar 1986), and include participant observation and in-depth interviewing in natural settings. In addition, data analysis is often performed using a "grounded theory approach" (Glaser and Strauss 1967) to allow conceptual and substantive issues to emerge from data.

Phenomenology differs from other traditions of sociological theorizing in several ways. Most evident is that it takes as problematic what earlier sociologies took as "given" -- that is, the external, independent reality of a natural or social world order which can be discovered scientifically. Under phenomenology, an independent order exists only in so far as people "create" a reality and act upon it as if it is real. As a result, phenomenological theorizing places no constraints on the social arrangements which may produce reality-constructions: many kinds of social relations may contribute partial sensibility in developing intersubjective consensus about reality.

However, there are costs associated with a phenomenological sociology. Methods for scientific study and analysis of reality-constructing activities are not fully developed. There are few standardized practices for gathering data about how reality is constructed in an individual's mind. Some scientists even question whether phenomenology can be a "science" at all, since science is presumed to deal with

objective empirical phenomena. When social life is being constructed and re-constructed continually, it is reasonable to wonder if there is ever a consistent, apprehendable object that can be studied scientifically. Smith (1979: 112) answers this by suggesting that:

Categories of the mind...are built into the data of sociology...but cannot in and of themselves account for any meaning system. Concrete meaning systems are generated by specific patterns of social contact and must be treated as the empirical items they are.

Phenomenology and Ethnomethodology

Though I have emphasized the structural nature of phenomenological inquiry, there are many other interesting questions raised by the phenomenological approach. Not the least of these questions relates to the study of the specific communicative procedures used by people to create meanings socially. However, those kinds of inquiries are specifically within the province of "ethnomethodology," which can be characterized as a related branch of interpretive sociology. Ethnomethodology studies speech practices and linguistic analysis to determine the "essences" of language and the structures of subjective meaning (Denzin 1969). The goal which ethnomethodology seeks is a "sociological theory of language as social interaction" (McKinney and Tiryakian 1970: 17).

The distinctions between ethnomethodology and phenomenology merit some additional comment, since the terms are often confused in application. Ethnomethodology adopts a similar theoretic approach as phenomenology (by studying the practices of everyday life in the construction of reality), and utilizes similar naturalistic methods. However, the two traditions developed simultaneously, and the literature debates the point of which approach subsumes the other. My

reading of the literature results in the conclusion that phenomenology, derived from philosophy, is the more general, scientific, theoretic statement from which ethnomethodology takes its form and resulting departure. Ethnomethodology, which centers on the analysis of specific speech acts, is a particular subset of interesting phenomenological analysis.

However, not all theorists would agree with this assessment. Berger and Luckmann (1966) note that, while "our argument is based on the work of Schutz" (p. 194),

The method we consider best suited to clarify the foundations of knowledge in everyday life is that of phenomenological analysis, a purely descriptive method and, as such, "empirical" but not "scientific." (p. 20)

I do not wish to rule out the usefulness of an ethnomethodological inquiry, or the characterization of phenomenology as "method", but in this paper, I am more concerned with the relational and structural nature of reality construction, than with the actual essences of language by which people accomplish this.

Shortcomings of the Phenomenological Paradigm

Phenomenology is a radical departure from mainstream positivistic science, and it should be noted that there exist widely-varying interpretations of the paradigm and its usefulness. The essential problem concerns the idea of "intentionality" and what it means sociologically for Ego/Other relationships. In Husserl's philosophical phenomenology, "all consciousness is 'intentional', in the sense that consciousness always has an object that constitutes it....intentionality is an internal relation of subject and object" (Giddens 1976; p. 26). In cases where the "object" is another

person, it is the internal (subjective) constitution by the Ego which creates consciousness of the Other. The problem is thus that a philosophical intentionality results in a subjective -- not a social -- sociology. Giddens (1976: 17) explains the problem as follows:

Schultz' philosophy remained wedded to the standpoint of the ego, and hence to the notion that we can never achieve more than a fragmentary and imperfect knowledge of the other.

It is not only the Other who cannot be reconstituted, it is also the whole of social reality. Maines (1977), reporting the critique of another sociologist, says: "after examining Schultz's views on self-other interaction, (Perinbanayagam) concludes that phenomenology is 'nothing more than a descriptive psychology of consciousness'" (p. 239). Giddens (1976) acknowledges "the primacy of subjective experience" (p. 36), but adds:

Having adopted the starting-point of a phenomenological reduction, Schutz is unable to reconstitute social reality as an object-world....the social realm cannot be constituted, in the transcendental sense of that term, from the intentional consciousness. (p. 31)

The phenomenological paradigm, as it currently appears in philosophy, is an incomplete theoretical formulation of a sociology of knowledge and being. Phenomenology attempts to account for the "social realities" -- that is, the meanings given to everyday experiences -- which people create by virtue of their involvements in social relationships. It approaches this issue from the perspective of the Ego, focusing on how the Ego makes social constructions in the presence of an Other. As a result, the Other remains incompletely-defined; it is clear that an Other must be involved, but the mechanisms of involvement are unspecified.

However, by postulating the "socialness" of these constructions of reality, phenomenology creates the intellectual climate for the study of how realities are created within social relationships. It is the precise translation of philosophical phenomenological ideas into a scientific sociology which now requires scholarly attention. The fact that there is no completely-developed conceptual clarification of the Ego-Other relationship suggests an area of great potential in sociology.

Basic Units: Social Relationships

Of particular importance for the study of the social construction of reality, the idea of "social relationships" merits special attention within a phenomenological sociology. In popular meaning (and illustrating a mechanistic view), relations are bonds or connections or ties between independently-existing objects or persons. Kerlinger (1986: 56) says that: "Relations in science are always between classes or sets of objects....We determine a relation empirically (by mapping) the objects of one set to the objects of another set (according to) rules of correspondance."

For example, when we say "there is a relation between a full moon and the behavior of automobile drivers", we mean that variations in the fullness of the moon correspond in some as-yet-undefined ways to observed changes in driving habits. The "rule of correspondance" may be hypothesized as causal ("a full moon causes drivers to speed"), or correlational ("when the moon is full, more cars cut in front of buses without warning"), or associational ("a full moon and peculiar driving habits are somehow related").

In sociology, the terms "relation" and "relationship" are often used interchangeably to describe social and psychological bonds between people. However, philosophers have consistently made a distinction between the more "objective" (i.e., mechanistic) idea of a relation and the more "subjective," or personal, (i.e., phenomenological) idea of a relationship. Mundackal (1977: 75), presenting a conceptual analysis of Martin Buber's philosophy, describes the difference as follows:

If questions are asked about a person's relation with other men, information is usually required as to whether he is friendly, cruel or kind to them, and whether they like or dislike him, trust or distrust him, and so on. Attention is thus being drawn to his attitudes towards them and their reactions to him. On the other hand, the term relationship is used when something more structured and reciprocal is being picked out.... "(R)elationship" suggests something more structured that grows up between or is entered into by two men and in which there is some element of reciprocity and openness, and which arises from the initiative of the individuals concerned, not from some impersonal order arising from role, convention, or morality.

The term "relation," then, as described here, refers to connections between people which are impersonal and objectified; this reflects a mechanistic model. People apprehend the qualities of relations by observing and reacting to one another as independent objects who briefly come into contact with one another.

The term "relationship," on the other hand, refers to the participation of two or more persons in a subjective, mutual attempt to take the part of the other, and to narrow the social and psychological "distance" between themselves. This is a phenomenological definition: two persons who jointly enter into a relationship with one another cooperatively create a conception of reality. For example, we usually stand in relation to our busdriver, but we maintain relationships with our spouse and friends.

From Relationships to Social Networks

The rationale behind the study of relationships is that interpersonal ties come to have social meaning for participants in their construction of lived-in realities (Berger 1964; Buber 1965; Theunissen 1986). To abstract from Berger:

(Relationships) are social arrangements that create for the individual the sort of order in which he can experience his life as making sense....In a broad sense, all the other cohabitants of this world serve a validating function...however, some validations are more significant than others. (p. 4)

The importance of studying relationships is evidenced by the fact that, relationships of significance are usually repetitive and regularized, rather than random (i.e., people like to see their friends so they seek them out, rather than waiting to bump into them by chance). Because they are repetitive, relationships can be "mapped" or diagrammed by their structural characteristics. These characteristics might include, among others, frequency of interaction between participants, reciprocity, strength of ties, longevity, complexity of involvement, and content of the relationship. The resulting maps of these structural patterns are called "social networks." In the following chapter, the idea of social networks will be discussed in detail.

Phenomenology in the Study of Leisure

In this paper, a phenomenological perspective is emphasized as a link between the social construction of meanings, and structure of social relationships. The phenomenological program suggested here tends towards structural analysis, and away

from studies of inner consciousness and resulting speech acts in the construction of reality. Methodological issues in the study of social networks will be discussed in the next chapter. In the chapter following that, a research agenda for the study of leisure from a "structural phenomenology" perspective will be outlined.

In general, phenomenologists have not specifically attempted the structural analysis of networks of reality-constructing persons. Phenomenology, as it has been applied scientifically, has been concerned with the structure of social meanings, rather than with the social structure of the Egos and Others who create these meanings. Structural analysis (which assumes that social structures are objectively real phenomena) is perceived to be inconsistent with the assumptions of phenomenology.

However, I do not see phenomenology and structuralism as incompatible, but only as incompletely-realized perspectives in the study of human intentionality. The fact that relationships of significance are often repetitive and patterned suggests that people act as if these relationships were real. Thus, both the relationships, and the social meanings which are created through mutual involvement in relationships, are appropriate topics for study under both phenomenological and structural paradigms.

Several authors have postulated a connection between phenomenology and dyadic and extended social structures (McCall, McCall, Denzin, Suttles, and Kurth 1970; Macksey and Donato 1972; Warnick 1979; Wuthnow, Hunter, Bergesen, and Kurzweil 1984; see also Blumer 1969, since several ideas of symbolic interactionism are also useful for phenomenological analysis). And Tiryakian (1970: 115) asserts: "Social structures (are) normative phenomena of intersubjective consciousness which frame social actions in social space."

Phenomenology implies that processes of reality-construction occur in dyadic, as well as extended, social relationships. Therefore, it is not incompatible with studies of structural aspects of relationships, nor is it insensitive to questions about functional aspects of social behavior. (The term "functional" here refers to general processes inherent in various kinds of relational involvements; it is not limited only to descriptions of functional behavior in specific collectivities, such as organizational systems.) The interesting sociological questions should begin with understanding the nature of the Ego/Other relationship: its processes, the way it is entered into, the concept or nature of the relation, and the procedures by which realities are jointly and cooperatively constructed.

CHAPTER 5

SOCIAL NETWORK ANALYSIS

The phenomenological paradigm focuses attention on the interactions of individuals participating in dyadic (two person) relationships, in order to study the social construction of reality in everyday life. But dyadic relationships do not exist independently of other social commitments and involvements in society. Traditional sociological reasoning maintains that dyads exist as part of larger, bounded social structures such as groups, families, organizations, and communities.

Correspondingly, the traditional sociological approach to analyzing dyadic relationships focuses on how individual and social attributes (for example, age and social status) contribute to normative or functional explanations of social behavior (McCord 1980). "Mainstream sociological studies treat social structure and process as the sum of individual actor's personal attributes...lumped into social categories (and) aggregate profiles" (Wellman 1988: 31).

More recent innovative approaches from the perspective of structural sociology, however, adopt different assumptions about the importance of social relationships in the larger context of social structures. The emerging "social network paradigm" proposes that social structure "is best understood in terms of a dynamic interplay between the *relations* between and among persons...and the *positions* and *roles* they occupy within a social system" (Berkowitz 1982: 3). He later explains:

(If) the credo of conventional social science is "categories have consequences," the structuralist rebuttal would be "consequences have categories," that is, patterns of relations among members of sets of elements produce or yield those social entities which we recognize and interpret as social groups. (p. 14)

There is no ascending natural order of social groupings in a network, and no encompassing "theory of social networks." The key issue is one of "how the relations are arranged (and) how the behavior of individuals depends on their location in this arrangement" (Leinhardt 1977: xiii). To this end, any sociological theory which reflects on how relations are arranged structurally, can be studied within a social network perspective. The purpose of this chapter is to present for non-network researchers an overview of social networks writing which details significant issues, concepts, and research literature.

The Structuralist Position

The social network paradigm is markedly different from earlier, traditional sociological approaches to the study of social structure. Berkowitz (1982: 3) describes the structuralist position in the following manner:

Rather than beginning with an a priori classification of the observable world into a discrete set of categories, (structuralists) postulated the opposite: begin with a set of relations and from them derive a typology and map of the structure of groups.

In this way, social structure is treated as "a network of networks that may or may not be partitioned into discrete groups" (Wellman 1988: 20). Under a network perspective, social relationships are the basic units of analysis; persons are seen as "nodes," and the relational ties between them as "links." A "network" itself is defined as "a specific set of linkages among a defined set of persons" (Mitchell 1969: 2). Network scholars propose that people conduct their daily affairs as members of social networks, and that social structure has direct consequences for individual behavior in society. The network concept is necessary when traditional ways of looking at

society fall short of adequately describing the relational ties among people. Bott (1971: 313) says, for example:

The research families did not live in groups. They "lived" in networks, if one can use the term "lived in" to describe the situation of being in contact with a set of people and organizations, some of whom were in contact with one another and some of whom were not.

The network perspective, then, reformulates the basic principles of traditional sociological theorizing, and takes as the unit of analysis what is not usually "seen": the social relationship itself. Wellman (1988: 20), summarizing developments in the network paradigm, describes five basic characteristics of the new style of inquiry:

1. The world is composed of networks not groups.
2. Social structures determine the operation of dyadic relationships.
3. Structured social relationships are a more powerful source of sociological explanation than personal attributes of system members.
4. Norms emerge from location in structured systems of social relationships.
5. Structural methods supplement and supplant individualistic methods.

The strength of the network approach to structural analysis is in analyzing what Wellman (1988: 33) calls "the social distribution of possibilities." Social relationships are not always symmetrical, not always voluntarily-chosen, and sometimes not even reciprocal. People have differential access to resources (Wellman and Berkowitz 1988b: 6), and correspondingly different opportunities for participation in society. The study of social networks encourages researchers to analyze patterns of social relationships within social structures, and therefore to account for social behaviors on both micro and macro levels. Marsden and Lin (1982: 10) sum up the utility of the network approach to social structure as follows:

The network orientation offers new approaches to describing and studying social structure and to dealing with the complex problem of integrating levels of analysis: the manner in which individual actions create social structure; the manner in which social structure, once created, constrains individual and collective action; or the manner in which attitudes and behaviors of actors are determined by the social context in which action takes place.

Social Network Analysis

The structural imperative outlined above carries with it a methodological program called "social network analysis." Social network analysis is a set of procedures for mapping the simultaneous interpersonal relationships or interactions of many actors, and for analyzing the structural patterns and regularities which comprise this network of relationships (Mitchell 1969; Bott 1971; Barnes 1972; Leinhardt 1977; Price 1981; Berkowitz 1982; Marsden and Lin 1982; Rogers 1987; Wellman and Berkowitz 1988a). Social network analysis provides an appropriate empirical approach for undertaking both the relational and structural studies detailed in this dissertation.

The idea of "networks" arose simultaneously in a number of different scientific disciplines. In biology and physics, the network metaphor was utilized to describe "chains" or "webs" of cellular and molecular interactions (von Bertalanffy 1950). In wildlife biology and population ecology, network applications were used to describe the movement of animal herds across land areas during seasonal migrations (Lewis 1977).

In the social sciences, networks research had its origins in studies of small group processes and interactions undertaken by social psychologists and sociologists (Moreno 1951; Simmel 1955, translated by Wolff). Rogers (1987: 287) says:

"Sociometry was the direct ancestor of today's social network analysis...(and) the second coming of network analysis began (with) the invasion of social science by computers."

The early tradition of sociometric research was extended beyond small group settings in two ways. First, sociometric analysis was formalized to attach descriptive names to different patterns of relationships in groups. Leinhardt (1977: xiv) says: "Moreno gave names...to various features of sociometric data....'Stars', for example, were what he called highly chosen individuals, and 'isolates' were those rarely chosen."

Second, mathematical sociologists began to study the algebraic properties of social networks, and to model the structural transformations which occurred with changes in network size and connectivity (Heider [1946] 1977; Harary [1959] 1977; Davis 1967; Lorrain and White 1971). With the improvement of computer analysis techniques in the 1970's, network analysis became an established field of inquiry. (See Mitchell (1969), Leinhardt (1977), Tichy, Tushman, and Fombrun (1979), and Rogers (1987), for comprehensive reviews of the historical development of network thinking in social research).

Network analysis techniques are useful for mapping potential communication, affective, exchange, and resource linkages between persons, and for locating persons in theoretical social and psychological spatial arrangements. Network models are also useful for theorizing about the consequences of roles and positions on social behavior. The network approach is particularly relevant when social persons are active participants in creating the realities they live. Giddens (1976: 120-121) comments:

Structural and functional schools of thought are not able to grapple adequately with the constitution of social life as the production of active subjects....A structure is not a 'group', 'collectivity', or 'organization': these have structures. Groups and collectivities can and should be studied as systems of interactions.

Conceptual Issues in Social Network Analysis

Theoretical Basis

The idea of a "social network" is not a theory in sociology, but it is a philosophy and a set of procedures for looking at social phenomena in a particular way. Certainly the term network analysis calls to mind a set of methods which have as a consistent theme the display and analysis of social relationships across social structures. Equally importantly, the idea of a social network implies an orientation to social structure and process, and the reciprocal influences of persons on structures. The network perspective is amenable to a variety of theoretical applications, but as Price (1981: 283) remarks, "network studies (currently) constitute a very disparate collection of enquiries made from divergent theoretical standpoints."

While the term "social network" was initially used as a metaphor (Radcliffe-Brown [1940] 1977), most sociologists now take it to mean the actual (though generally not visible) patterning of extended social relationships between social actors (individual or corporate entities). When a map of a social network is drawn, the linkages refer to sometimes-utilized, conditional channels of communication, and to relational ties which have specific kinds of contents. In social research, a network map should be conceived as a picture of probabilistic ties (links) among entities

(nodes) at a given point in time, where the situation or context has encouraged network members to invest social relationships with meaning.

Types of Networks

In the social sciences, the use of the network concept has undergone various transformations depending on which theories and analytic procedures are applied. The earliest network studies were of "egocentric networks" -- the personal ties surrounding an individual subject, within the context of a bounded collectivity (such as a dyad, family, or membership group). Bott (1971: 320) defines egocentric networks "as all or some of the social units (individuals or groups) with whom a particular individual or group is in contact." Egocentric networks studies always begin with the social actor and focus on the multiple personal relationships of that subject (Bott 1971; Jones and Fischer 1978).

Some social networks researchers are not interested in the multiple egocentric ties of specific social actors, but in exact paths or "chains" of directed linkages between persons. Some examples of this tradition in the study of social networks are in small-world studies (Travers and Milgram 1969), diffusion of innovations studies (Coleman, Katz, and Menzel [1957] 1977), and studies of communication linkages, resource transfers, and productivity within organizations or communities. In these studies, it is critical to specify the content of the relationships under study, since the activation of ties may depend on the context.

A recent trend in social networks research is towards modelling of "chaotic" interactions, where network interactions are not necessarily stable or consistent over time. These are studies of "networks of networks." The emphasis is on the clustering

of subgroupings within networks and how these intersect with clusterings in other networks. Social actors are seen as being enmeshed in multiple networks all at once, and having varying commitments and responsibilities to a multitude of relational ties. While this may model real-world behavior, the research agenda is an ambitious one (Doreian 1986; Wellman and Berkowitz 1988a).

The Nature of Relationships

A key conceptual issue in studying social networks is defining the types of relational ties which are the focus of study. It is less a question of whether every potential relation between persons is included in a social network, than whether relations of theoretical interest are included. This is an issue of more than passing interest: without a theory of relationships to guide research, there is no understanding of the criteria which forms the basis for particular inclusive relational ties between entities in social networks.

The specification is complex. For example, do my daily greetings to the mailman have equal weight to my long-distance phone conversation with a best friend, or to my discussion about a project with a colleague? In social networks research, there is no standard concerning where social networks begin and end, and what specifications guide the inclusion of different types of relational ties. As Jones and Fischer (1978: 39) comment: "we suspect (that)...conclusions about people's whole social world are often inaccurately generalized from data on narrowly defined sets of relations."

The imperative, then, is to "elaborate a theoretical framework and methodological protocol to specify which relations in what temporal and social context are to be regarded as the focus of attention" (Price 1981: 284). This exercise will also help define the boundaries of the network system under study. The boundary issue remains hazy: since social networks have no previously determined size or composition, it is up to the researcher to clearly specify the relations under study and the ways in which they are theoretically relevant.

Methodological Issues in Social Network Analysis

Sampling Procedures

Regardless of the type of network under study (personal egocentric networks; extended chains of relations within or across networks; or multiple networks of networks), the data which must be collected is sociometric in nature. That is, questions are asked about a social actor's interpersonal relationships, exchanges, and communications with other entities. Typical questions include: "whom do you know?", "how frequently do you talk with them?", "what is your relation to them?", "what activities do you do together?", and "what kinds of help do you share?"

These data have traditionally been gathered using observational and interview techniques (when network configurations are based on a small number of ties), or questionnaire methods (when all network members can be contacted within bounded settings such as organizations or isolated communities). However, these methods are labor-intensive for the researcher, and require a high degree of recall accuracy from subjects. In addition, Barnes (1972: 24) notes that these methods provide a

researcher with data about only immediate contacts of the subject "forgetting about ... because he does not know about -- the other (social) relations impinging on these individuals."

Not the least of the data collection and analysis problems in social network analysis is understanding what people mean by the relational terms they use. Social actors assign meanings to interpersonal relations based on a variety of criteria. For example, to some people, an "immediate family member" may also be considered a "best friend," and reported as such in a name-eliciting question. Yet other people may distinguish between friends and kin without overlapping "affect" with "roles." Jones and Fischer (1978: 4) found that "(subjects) have surprisingly poor recall of the people they know," and, furthermore, "respondants (sometimes) pad their lists of relations with people who do not fit the description given (in order not to appear unpopular or unloved)."

Measuring Network Structure: Operationalization of Key Concepts

In social network analysis, the focus of study is on the properties of relational linkages, the arrangement of nodes in relation to one another, and the structural characteristics of networks as systems. To this end, there are several structural and transactional properties which researchers employ to measure social network structures. One useful scheme is Mitchell's (1969: 12) synthesis of network analytic criteria:

The morphological characteristics of a network refer to the...patterning of the links in a network with respect to one another. They are *anchorage*, *density*, *reachability*, and *range*. The interactional criteria, on the other hand refer to the nature of the links themselves and are the *content*, *directedness*, *durability*, *intensity*, and *frequency* of the interaction.

While each of these are important criteria for analyzing social structure, there is little consensus in the literature concerning which criteria to select for different circumstances, and even less consensus about how to operationalize the chosen variables. For example, a theory may suggest that the "density" of a social network contributes to specific patterns of social behavior -- but the concept has a variety of different uses and it is unclear which is appropriate under what conditions (Turner 1967; Barnes 1969; Bott 1971; Price 1981). In addition, there are other structural concepts used frequently by network researchers -- centrality, distance, multiplexity, connectedness, strength of ties -- reaffirming that there are at least as many concepts and operationalizations as there are network researchers!

In addition to the difficulty of operationalizing key network concepts, there is the associated problem of understanding what network structures "mean" in reality. That is, what does a link between two network entities mean in everyday life? What is the influence of contextual effects on relationships maintenance: are subjects influenced in relationship development by unseen ties to individuals not present? What does it mean that one person in a network is more "central" than another, or more "isolated"? Are two networks with the same morphology in fact similar? These questions remain unanswered so far in the developing discipline of structural network studies.

Measuring Network Structure: Clustering Techniques Within Networks

It is possible to analyze social networks from the standpoint of the types of relational linkages which surround actors in the network structure. For example, Moreno (1951) referred to "stars" and "isolates" in sociometric analysis of groups.

Rogers and Kincaid (1981) describe "gatekeepers," "bridges," and "liasons," all communication roles in a network. These terms all refer to patterns of an individual's social ties, and theoretical questions can be raised about how these structural patterns influence individual behavior.

In terms of structural theory, one might also be interested in aggregating data within sections of a network and in comparing networks across settings. In this case, it is desirable to analyze the ways in which a complete network can be partitioned into subgroups, or "cliques," or "clusters," containing similar network members, and excluding those who have different sets of social ties. Two approaches to subdividing networks have been developed around this issue: the relational approach, and the positional approach.

Relational and positional approaches can be distinguished from one another by the theories which support them, and the network subgroups which they create. Burt (1978: 189) says: "The relational approach, developing from traditional sociometry, focuses on relations between actors...and aggregates actors connected by cohesive bonds into 'cliques'." That is, in any social network, there will be "areas" of the network where social relations are more dense (i.e., actors are connected to one another more strongly than they are connected to others). These relations take on qualities of network subgroups and are called either "cliques" or "clusters."

One the other hand, "the positional approach focuses on the patterns of relations in which an actor is involved and aggregates actors with similar patterns...into jointly occupied positions" (Burt 1978: 189). The persons who occupy these positions are called "structurally equivalent actors." These actors do not necessarily have similar kinds (contents) of social relations, but they have similar patterns of relationships with others in the network. For example, two isolated

persons may lack social ties to others and so be considered structurally equivalent -- whether or not they share a relationship with one another.

It is clear that the relational and positional approaches may yield different subgroups in analyzing social networks. Which approach one chooses to use in network analysis depends on the assumptions one brings to the research setting. Blau (1982: 277) outlines the dilemma in the following manner: "Do we first analyze social relations and distinguish positions on the basis of differences in patterns of relations, or do we start by categorizing people by social positions to examine the patterns of relations among them?" The consensus seems to be that both approaches are useful for comparative purposes and for validating network structures (Burt 1976, 1978, 1980; Blau 1981, 1982; Rogers 1987).

Benefits of Networks Research

There are a number of potential benefits to the networks approach to analysis of social structure. First, network analysis provides a visual "map," or picture, of how specific entities stand in relation to one another based on specific interaction criteria. Many of the computer programs which can be used to analyze network data produce two or three dimensional network structure maps illustrating the relative location of actors in social space and the relations which link them together (see, for example, NEGOPY, described by Richards and Rice 1981). Second, as a result of advances in computer technology, different kinds of relational contents can be mapped over one another in network representations, providing a more comprehensive picture of the intensity and extensity of a field of social relations.

Third, network data are gathered using sociometric-type questions, which have the benefit of being easily understandable for subjects, and "real" in their experience. While there are significant problems in estimation of numbers of linkages, and in recall of interactions by respondents, these network data provide for a researcher a wealth of information on which to base analyses of social structure.

Fourth, the measures of "distance," "proximity," or "similarity" in networks, are developed from evidence of everyday observable behavior in social relationships. For example, if Person A talks with Person B every day, but talks with Person C only once a year, we might conclude that Persons A and B are "closer" friends with respect to some defined criteria.

Finally, the network approach encourages analysis of individual linkages between pairs of actors, as well as analysis of substructures (groups, clusters, cliques) within the network system under study. In this way, network analysis provides measures of social relationships as well as social structures.

Sociological Research Literature **About Social Networks**

The purpose of discussing in detail the social network approach to structural analysis is to provide a foundation for the eventual application of network analysis techniques in leisure and recreation research. Since there are currently only a few isolated attempts to apply network principles to leisure and recreation problems, this detailed review is necessary to provide a background in structural thinking for scholars who do not typically think in this way.

In the remainder of this chapter, I will briefly review some of the important social science research on networks; I have chosen writing which may provide some useful ideas for applications in leisure and recreation. In addition, I will review the few studies completed by leisure researchers which utilize network analytic concepts or techniques.

Rather than reviewing all of the writing which fits under the heading of social network studies, I will focus here on a few segments of that literature which seem particularly useful for a revised sociology of leisure. I begin with the assumption -- developed fully in Chapter 6 -- that the social contexts of leisure and recreation are repositories for weakly-institutionalized, non-instrumental social relationships. These can occur on any scale, or take any form. Any sociological theory which is concerned with these kinds of interactions and relationships, no matter what the level of analysis, is appropriately applied to recreation and leisure phenomena.

The sociological and anthropological literature on social networks which would seem to have most potential for leisure and recreation applications, therefore, is empirical research conducted from the perspective of relational networks (rather than positional). Relational social networks contain the intimate, interpersonal associations through which people construct social realities. These associations are truly "relationships" in the phenomenological sense.

This segment of the literature includes writing and research about family interactions, friendship formation, acquaintance networks, extended ties of sociability in communities, sampling and interview procedures for relational networks, and structural issues in network subgrouping. Though other topics are equally interesting, in this paper, I will not review writings on organizational or corporate network structures, interorganizational network linkages, resource exchanges, or mathematical modelling of networks.

Introductory and Reference Papers

Since network analysis is a new approach for all but a few leisure researchers, it would be useful to briefly acknowledge some seminal papers about social networks. These papers contain broad-ranging discussions of the history, concepts and issues, methodological techniques, and status of networks research as social science. The papers listed here are helpful introductions for other theoretical and empirical writings on social networks.

From an anthropological perspective, three papers are especially necessary. Mitchell (1969) reviews the historical uses of the term "network" and details morphological and interactional criteria used in network analysis. Bott (1971) and Barnes (1972) each provide comprehensive reviews of research on social networks undertaken from a variety of theoretical perspectives.

In the sociological tradition of networks-thinking, there are a number of books and papers useful as reference materials. Three edited volumes contain early formulations of the networks idea for social research: Leinhardt (1977), Marsden and Lin (1982), and Burt and Minor (1983). One "text" (Berkowitz 1982), and a recent edited volume (Wellman and Berkowitz 1988a), see network analysis techniques as the primary tools for analyzing structure in society.

The Wellman and Berkowitz volume is especially noteworthy for its theoretical cohesiveness around the conception of networks as structures of exchange relations. The authors say in the introduction that this volume contains papers about "how relations structure resource allocation under conditions of scarcity and how these often asymmetrical relations concatenate into complex...networks of power and dependency" (p. 6). As this book affirms, the idea of social networks as "structures of exchange relations" is beginning to achieve a certain prominence in the literature.

In addition to these sources, there are occasional state-of-the-field reviews (Rogers 1987) in *Social Networks*, the primary journal of the discipline, and also some pertinent writing from other disciplines. For example, communication theories are employed as the basis for network analysis in Rogers and Kincaid's (1981) book Communication Networks. And, Tichy, Tushman, and Fombrun (1979) describe applications of network analysis for organizations; this paper contains a practical guide to "doing" network analysis, and includes useful information about available computer algorithms for analyzing relational data.

Research on Primary and Extended Relationships

The network model has been used in sociology to study a variety of theoretical issues concerning primary and extended relationships -- from family roles, to friendship formation, to life satisfaction based on network involvements, to community cohesion. Two of the earliest and most important research papers about primary relationships are Barnes' (1954) study of kinship and friendship patterns in a Norwegian fishing village, and Bott's (1955) study of the relational patterns of husbands and wives in London suburb families.

Bott's paper is especially useful for leisure and recreation researchers. Not only does she explore the leisure habits of the London families, but she also analyzes a type of relation (conjugal) which has been understudied in leisure research. Bott found that a traditional "social class" study using standard socioeconomic variables failed to adequately account for variation in segregated or joint performance of family roles. By refocusing her study on the network relations of both husbands and wives, she found that "the degree of segregation in the role-relationship of husband and wife

varies directly with the connectedness of the family's social network" (p. 383). That is, the more separate the husband and wife roles, the more connected the network, and vice versa.

Bott's hypothesis about the importance of network connections for conjugal role performance has been further refined by Turner (1967), Fischer (1982), and Yi (1986), and continues to provoke research interest. It would seem to have considerable utility in studies of marriage dissolution (Rands 1988), remarriage, or single-parenting, though there is currently little evidence that it has been applied in those areas.

Bott analyzed the husband/wife relationship against a backdrop of extended family and neighbor relations. Other researchers have been concerned with the nature of other kinds of personal relationships. For example, Hallinan (1978), and Runger and Wasserman (1980) studied processes of friendship formation over time; Truex (1981) reported on norms regarding involvement with kin; and Johnson and Miller (1983) analyzed marginal members of an Italian fishing group in Alaska.

Still other sociologists work from the opposite direction: they begin with community relations, and develop network studies about either the structures of whole communities, or the clusters and subgroups within them. Litwak and Szelenyi (1969), and Wellman (1979), studied helping behavior among kin, friends, and acquaintances in large urban areas. Colfer and Colfer (1978) analyzed divisions in town social structure created by public sector and private sector employees living together in a rural Washington logging community. Freudenburg (1986) considered the structures and meanings of acquaintanceship patterns in an energy boomtown.

An ambitious program of community network studies which analyzed egocentric relational patterns across a number of localities was the work of Fischer and colleagues on the Northern California Community Study, completed in 1977.

Much of the empirical work from the Northern California study is concerned with the nature of friendships and the ability of social network ties to influence people's sense of "community" (Fischer 1982a, 1982b). One study reports on the consequences of being socially isolated (Fischer and Phillips 1979); another discusses the importance of network ties as informal support systems for older people, especially women (Steuve and Fischer 1978).

In both studies, social networks are seen as "resources": linkages provide health care, information, companionship and emotional support, and material goods and services for people in communities. The idea of social relations as resources is also developed by Lin (1982), and Campbell, Marsden, and Hurlbert (1986).

The seminal paper on the topic of networks as resources, however, is Granovetter's (1973) "The Strength of Weak Ties," in which the author suggests that: "Weak ties are more likely to link members of *different* small groups than are strong ones, which tend to be concentrated within groups" (p. 1376). As such, weak ties provide opportunities that strong ties cannot (Granovetter uses the example of finding a job to illustrate this point). Friedkin (1980) found support for Granovetter's model in a test among work associates; however, Greenbaum (1982) reports mixed results for the model when applied in neighborhood social networks.

The conception of social networks as resources, providing for the well-being and happiness of members, is also a recent and developing theme in the literature of social gerontology (Adams 1987; Burt 1987; Lawton and Moss 1987; Milardo 1988; Mitchell 1987). Much of the literature in gerontology draws from a health studies perspective, and often these studies have social intervention as a goal. However, this is an area which is likely to capture more attention in the future.

Papers About Networks Methodology

Leisure and recreation researchers who are interested in utilizing social networks approaches should have a working knowledge of the special data collection and analysis methods used by network researchers. Several techniques are useful for obtaining and displaying relational data; some of these are unique to network analysis.

A common approach for collecting data on small egocentric networks is to employ ethnographic methods, including participant observation (Barnes 1954) and personal interviewing (Bott 1971; Wellman 1979). Some researchers have had subjects use daily logs to record existing personal contacts (Conrath, Higgins, and McClean 1983), in an attempt to devise a sociometric census. Other researchers have traced linkages through "snowball sampling" (Goodman 1961) or through "small world" studies (Milgram 1967; Travers and Milgram 1969). In both of these cases, it is the chains of personal connections through society which are of interest to the researcher, rather than all the personal contacts of individual subjects. Bernard, Killworth, and Sailer (1980), Romney and Weller 1984), Hammer (1984), and Sudman (1985), all consider the question of whether respondents are accurate in reporting their relational ties.

A second approach to collecting egocentric network data is by mass survey (including mail or personally administered questionnaires). Jones and Fischer (1978) describe the random sampling procedures used in the Northern California Community Study to obtain data about the core exchange-based networks of urbanites in several cities in northern California. Their report includes examples of questions administered in pilot and final versions of the study.

Other empirical work on random-sampling of large populations and networks is described by Granovetter (1976), Frank (1978), Erickson, Nosanchuk, and Lee (1981), Burt (1981), Wellman (1982), and Erickson and Nosanchuk (1983). Klovdahl (1979) reviews eight strategies for studying large social networks, and describes his own unique approach, the "random walk strategy," which involves a modified snowball sampling method where respondents are chosen randomly.

The underlying theme of these mass survey approaches is a concern with "network density." Granovetter (1976: 1288) defines density as "the ratio of the number of ties actually observed to the number theoretically possible." Large network sampling allows researchers to question how networks are more or less dense, and to discover the ways in which populations and societies are stratified.

Much of the work on social stratification (from a network perspective) is an abstraction from analyses of how persons and groups are mutually dependent within networks of varying size. Complex relationships within network subgroups are analyzed by van Poucke (1980), Wilson (1982), Hammer (1985), and Johnson and Miller (1986). The following papers have useful discussions of network connectivity and clustering methods: Barnes (1969), Breiger (1974), Alba and Moore (1978), Burt (1976, 1978, 1980), Harary and Batell (1981), and Price (1981).

Network Studies in Leisure and Recreation

While some sociologists consider leisure and recreation variables in their network analyses (for example, Bott 1955), very few leisure and recreation researchers seem to be aware of the network approach to structural analysis. An isolated example from the tradition of sociometric analysis is Allen's (1980) study of

friendship networks of urban children at parks, nature centers, and camps. This is the only published study in the field of leisure and recreation which is specifically sociological in its treatment of networks.

However, a series of studies on communication and information networks has been completed at Michigan State University. While these are limited in number, they do establish a precedent. Eckstein (1983) found that visitors to Michigan recreation destinations use primarily informal communication channels to receive information about recreation places and activities.

Cobb (1988) studied influence and exchange networks among tourism businesses in four Michigan communities. She concluded that communication network centrality was necessary for business owners and managers to influence tourism decisions. McDonough, Cobb, and Holecek (1987) propose extending communication network analysis methods to study fisheries social systems.

Reviewing the wealth of sociological and anthropological literature about social networks, it is reasonable to suggest that there are numerous opportunities for initiating social networks research about issues in leisure, recreation, tourism, and resource management.

CHAPTER 6

A REVISED SOCIOLOGY OF LEISURE

The theoretical basis of this dissertation is that leisure behaviors and meanings are constrained, and also made possible, by the types of relational structures in which people are involved during day-to-day community life. A significant drawback to current sociological reasoning about leisure and recreation is its focus on group activities at recreation places. This approach excludes interpersonal dyadic and extended relationships of community which are likely to influence leisure behaviors and meanings. Sociological thinking about leisure should be concerned with how the broad range of social contacts, ties, and relationships surrounding an individual might encourage or prohibit these leisure opportunities.

As proposed in this dissertation, the relational studies which derive from structural and phenomenological perspectives require empirical procedures that can be applied for two purposes: first, for the study of interpersonal (dyadic) encounters and involvements; and second, in the study of the social structures (networks) within which these interpersonal ties are located. A phenomenological perspective asserts that social meanings are constructed in the context of various kinds of relationships. The structural theory extension of this idea suggests that social relationships exist within more diverse social networks of community. Social network analysis provides a useful empirical approach for undertaking the relational and the structural studies detailed in this dissertation, and for assessing through critical analysis the interpretive meanings given to and arising from leisure.

This chapter presents the foundations of a revised sociological model of leisure. The model derives from the theoretical and methodological foundations discussed in Chapters 4 and 5. The model is preliminary, and suggestive of a new approach to leisure research.

Rationale

As discussed in Part 1 of this dissertation, the predominant models of sociological thinking in leisure and recreation fail to provide an adequate formulation of leisure and recreation. What is missing from our understanding of leisure as socially significant phenomena is how people live within larger social networks of community, and how these networks of relationships influence action and meaning in leisure and recreation. People do not suddenly appear on-site at recreation places without some prior social involvements or understandings guiding their recreation choices. A revised sociology of leisure, based on phenomenological and structural theorizing, addresses these problems.

Theoretical Foundations

The basic theoretical and research questions center around the issue of how social relationships and community network structures influence leisure and recreation. This issue raises two intersecting problems. First, what is the nature of "social structure": that is, what are the specific qualities of social relationships which are activated in leisure, and how are these relationships arranged as parts of larger social networks of community? Second, what are the leisure outcomes -- the

recreation behaviors and activities, and the socially-constructed meanings -- which result from different structural configurations?

A revised sociology of leisure draws from both phenomenological and structural network perspectives. The marriage of phenomenology with structuralism is not only unique to leisure and recreation, but also to mainstream sociology and social philosophy. The combination of these two traditions is an inspired attempt to ground leisure in the day-to-day social relationships and social reality of people's lives. The intersection of the two perspectives occurs at the point of the "social relationship," where social meanings are cooperatively created and confirmed by people through social interaction. The patterning of dyadic social relationships into sets of extended social ties (i.e., social networks) provides even more opportunities for reality constructions and validations to occur.

In this dissertation, the term "meanings" is used broadly, to suggest both individual and social "coherence" about the nature of reality. Giddens (1976: 88) describes meanings as "commonsense, taken for granted mutual knowledge." Meanings imply an orientation towards some object, other, or event; people feel, and think, and act on the basis of what they consider to be "real" in these orientations.

Social meanings are created through structural involvements; that is, from dyadic and extended social relationships of community which appear as network systems. Network systems contain many diverse kinds of social relationships, including exchange relations, kin relations, and relations of sociability. The relations of interest in this dissertation are those which occur within the context of leisure or are activated for recreation activities.

The general model suggested by phenomenological and structural approaches to leisure is diagrammed below. Variations in dyadic and extended social network structures influence leisure behavior and meanings, which in turn influence social

relationships and network structures. The focus in this paper is particularly on the pathway between variations in interpersonal and community network structures, and the leisure behaviors and meanings which they influence (linkage A in Figure 1). However, it seems likely that activities and meanings created in the context of leisure might reciprocally influence community dyadic and extended network relationships as well (linkage B in Figure 1). While this paper does not explore this last set of interactions, the model does point out an area for future research.

Concepts

The model introduces several important concepts which are necessary to the phenomenological and structural analysis of leisure. Each concept is discussed below. Since the model is preliminary, and the intent is to apply it eventually under several different theoretical approaches, no causal relations have as yet been postulated.

The Context of Leisure

The recreation research literature suggests that leisure is something more than simply time, activity, or feeling. In addition, the literature suggests that leisure has structural characteristics which differentiate it from work. Moreover, research indicates that leisure contains individual as well as social benefits and satisfactions.

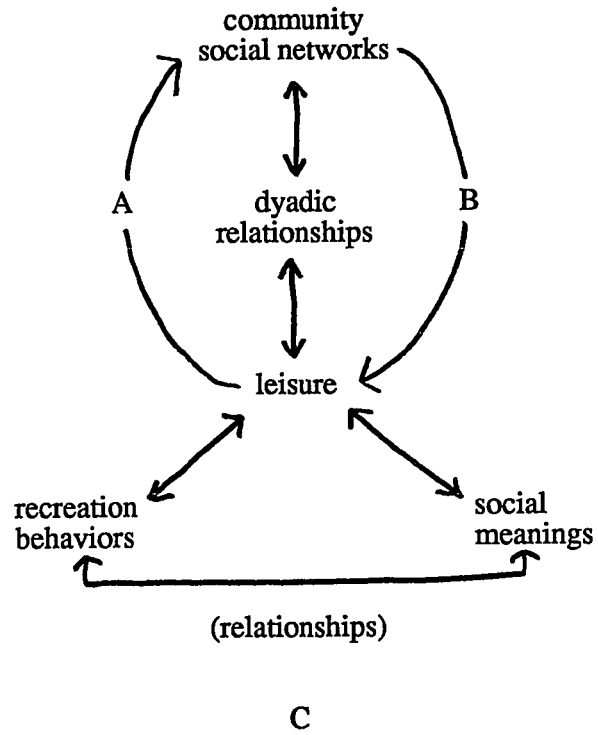


FIGURE 1
THE PHENOMENOLOGICAL/STRUCTURAL
MODEL OF LEISURE

In combination, all of these research findings point to a definition of leisure as a "context" which contains unique social behaviors and social meanings. Both the behaviors (labelled here as "recreation") and the meanings are socially-constructed realities negotiated and acted upon by people in day-to-day life. Furthermore, these social constructions arise from interpersonal communication in relationships with others.

By implication, recreation behaviors and leisure meanings are mediated through social relationships which are activated (by intent, or by chance) for leisure purposes. These social relationships are indicated in the model as linkage C. These relationships are designated within parentheses to indicate that they are the subset, among all dyadic relationships in all contexts of social life, which are activated for leisure. As such, these relationships have certain unique characteristics which distinguish them from relationships in other contexts.

The literature on social relationships suggests that single relationships can contain many types of relational contents (Burt 1983; Milardo 1988), and common sense seems to bear this out. For example, siblings might also be best friends, work associates might be fun to socialize with, and friends might provide emotional and tangible support along with socializing opportunities. There are two key issues: what is the immediate meaning of a relationship at any given time?; and, under what circumstances are different relationships activated for different purposes? There is likely no such thing as a "leisure relationship." Rather, relationships are differentially activated for leisure, and when activated, assume appropriate qualities for the leisure context.

What are the qualities of relationships activated for leisure? First, these relationships are affective in nature: leisure appears to have positive social connotations where "liking" (or at least not "disliking") the others involved is the

norm. The literature suggests that we exercise freedom of choice in leisure, and it is unlikely that we would seek leisure with people we dislike.

Second, leisure involves specifically non-instrumental social relationships. Kelly (1982: 115) points out that: "Leisure is distinguished from work, not by being satisfying or enjoyable, but by its lack of a product of economic or social value." That is, social relationships in the context of leisure are entered into for their own sake, not for instrumental purposes. This quality differentiates between social relationships of leisure, and exchange relationships in any context. It is not clear, however, how much these characteristics might overlap.

Finally, the affective, non-instrumental relationships of leisure are weakly-institutionalized in social life. In general, these relationships are played out in relatively small dyadic, group, or cluster configurations. Relationships are informal, and voluntary. Unlike other contexts of human life, such as work or school, leisure does not seem to contain institutions and hierarchies of relationships which persist despite member turnover. Leisure seems focused, rather, on the micro-structures of interpersonal relationships. Meanings are defined from within these relationships, rather than imposed from the outside.

Community Social Networks

Interpersonal relationships activated for leisure carry over their meanings and influence into other contexts of social involvement, too. As noted above, individual relationships may have multiple contents (kin may also be friends, or workmates, or recreation partners), and so there are several ways that meanings created in leisure might be validated or negated. In addition, specific dyadic relationships are

immediate manifestations of the broader, extended social linkages between individuals and all others with whom he or she is connected socially. These extended social linkages are called "community social networks."

The term "community," in this sense, refers to specific qualities of social relational ties, and not to specific locales or geographic areas. Bender (1978: 7) says: "Community...is best defined as a network of social relation(ships) marked by mutuality and emotional bonds." He explains (p. 6), "(it) is a fundamental and enduring form of social interaction...and expectation of a special quality of human relationship." Community, then, refers to networks of social relationships which are shaped from interactions based on sentiment and mutuality. Community -- not work, or locale, or recreation groups organized on-site, or kinship systems -- is the specific province of the social context of leisure.

Since relationships of community, and therefore leisure, are based on significant affective and emotional associations, they are likely to be persistent, patterned, and repetitive interactions. As such, they are amenable to study using a method of social network analysis. Social network analysis is a set of procedures for mapping the multiple, extended interpersonal relationships of several actors all at once, and for analyzing the structural patterns and regularities which compose this network of relationships. The questions of interest are: how are people arranged structurally?; and, what does this structural arrangement mean for their behaviors and the social realities they cooperatively create?

To study leisure from the perspective of community social networks, the appropriate procedure is to locate the non-instrumental, affective relationships of leisure within community networks of sentiment and belongingness, and to discover how these relationships are expressed as (mutual) recreation participation. Then, given that people have potential linkages with specific others for recreation,

phenomenological questions can be posed: how do those specific social relationships contribute to the development of social meanings which make leisure "real" in the experience of the participants?

Applications: Research Questions

This dissertation represents a first attempt to combine structural with phenomenological perspectives for application in the study of leisure. As such, the conceptualizations and propositions extended here are preliminary. Since no research has yet considered these topics, we can only hypothesize about the direction of future studies based on comprehensive literature reviews.

Reviews of the literature about the sociology of leisure and recreation suggest three general categories of research applications:

1. How community social relationships and extended network affiliations promote varied social involvements and groupings at recreation places for leisure purposes;
2. The structure of extended relationships between persons on-site at recreation places: how individuals and social groups interact in structuring recreation activities and social meanings;
3. How relationships in the context of leisure influence future community social network relationships, either by direct relational involvement between persons, or by the creation of new social meanings about leisure.

The particular theoretical orientations of future studies is a question of considerable importance. Under the model designed in this paper, any sociological theory which had as a theme "the nature of affective social relationship involvement" could be appropriately applied. These kinds of theories fall generally under the categories of friendship and acquaintanceship processes, community network theories based on affect rather than exchange behaviors, and studies of kin relations. Furthermore, hypotheses about a wide range of sociological concepts, such as structure, life cycle changes, communication processes, reality-construction processes, liking and attraction, and marital interaction, would be usefully applied to leisure.

The specific utility of the revised model of leisure, as it is used in this dissertation, is in its ability to suggest various conceptual orientations to studying the importance of social structure for leisure behaviors and meanings. For example, initial studies of this topic might begin by characterizing the significant qualities of social networks: their size, density, composition, connectedness of subgroups, frequency of interaction among members, reciprocity within interactions, and proportion of affective social ties compared to instrumental or normative social ties. These structural criteria would then be analyzed regarding their importance for variations in leisure criteria, which might include such items as recreation choice behaviors, participation in activities (number of activities, range of activities, kinds of activities, activity groupings), information seeking and information needs for recreation, quality of leisure, the social meanings of leisure, and personal well-being.

Benefits of a New Sociology of Leisure

The usefulness of the revised sociology of leisure can be seen in three areas: (1) for on-site recreation research, in providing a better understanding of how and why social groupings form on-site at recreation places; (2) for off-site studies of leisure as one aspect of community social networks, in describing how people include leisure behaviors and meanings as a segment of all their full range of personal relationships; and (3) for analyzing the potentially reciprocal connection between leisure contexts and social networks of community.

Kelly (1982: 111) says: "If leisure is social interaction, relationships, and the expression of community, then we need to know about stability and change in social contexts, about groups, normative expectations, self-presentations, the regularities of institutions, and the meanings of life together." This is the traditional approach in the sociology of leisure for considering the broad relational contexts of leisure. The propositions detailed in this dissertation depart radically from this approach.

The value of describing leisure as a social context within community social networks is four-fold. First, people have histories of leisure and non-leisure relational ties which may influence recreation activities undertaken in the present. These histories of behaviors and meanings are assumed to influence current and future leisure involvements. Social network analysis is one method of identifying these significant social connections.

Second, the characterization of leisure as "context" preserves a distinction between "work" and "leisure" which is consistent with the literature. While leisure has something to do with community and affective, non-instrumental relations, work

refers to organizational affiliation, exchange relations, and task-oriented production behaviors. Theoretically, the social networks of the work context have different relational characteristics than leisure networks.

Third, social relationships which are activated for specific recreation activity purposes can now be traced back and grounded in the broader social networks of community. In addition, it is likely that social ties activated for leisure have a future impact on community networks of sentiment and belongness; these can be predicted, and studied.

And, fourth, structural perspectives help define relationships which are not leisure-oriented, as well as those which are. Under Bender's model of community, leisure-oriented social relationships are one of many kinds of relational ties within community networks (others might be family group relationships, chains of friendships, neighborly relations).

PART 3

EMPIRICAL RESEARCH UNDER A REVISED SOCIOLOGY OF LEISURE

In the previous two sections of this dissertation, the need for a revised orientation and methodology in the sociology of leisure and recreation has been detailed. Part 1 outlined current problems and possibilities in the study of leisure behavior, and reviewed the literature about sociological aspects of leisure and recreation behaviors (the "social groups" literature). Part 2 describes the foundations of a revised sociology of leisure, blending the perspectives of phenomenology and structuralism. A methodological approach called "social network analysis," which is appropriate for conducting applied research under these two perspectives, was introduced.

In this section of the dissertation, the revised model of leisure is applied in an exploratory study of community social networks and recreation behaviors. This study addresses the issue of how community social relationships influence recreation participation and meanings about leisure. The approach is based on the belief that recreation behaviors do not exist only "on-site," but are instead the products of already-existing opportunities for social interaction which arise in community life. Social network analysis methods are utilized to explore the patterning and arrangements of interpersonal community social ties and their recreation expressions.

This section contains two chapters. In Chapter 7, results of the exploratory community networks study undertaken in the town of Eatonville, in western Washington State, are presented. This study represents an initial attempt to consider the consequences of egocentric network ties for an individual's participation in recreation activities. Research has suggested that individuals have certain definable,

repetitive, and potentially predictable patterns of community interaction and social involvement (Bott 1971; Fischer 1982; Jones and Fischer 1978; Wellman 1979; Fischer and Phillips 1979). If so, it should be possible to predict from a person's community network ties to his or her potentially repetitive and predictable participation in recreation.

Part 3 of this dissertation concludes with two chapters (Chapters 8 and 9) which consider the theoretical and practical implications of the revised approach to leisure. Limitations and opportunities for research under the new model are identified, and conclusions are drawn regarding its impact on leisure and recreation research.

CHAPTER 7

THE EATONVILLE STUDY

The social networks approach to leisure and recreation, discussed in Chapter 6, is rich with opportunities for a variety of interesting sociological studies. One application which developed from these ideas was an exploratory study which attempted to describe how social relationships within community networks contribute to an individual's participation in recreation activities.

The pilot study described in this chapter was conducted during the winter of 1981 as part of a larger study of the dispersed recreation use of national forest lands in the area around Eatonville, Washington. The study was funded by the Pacific Northwest Experiment Station of the United States Forest Service. The research was conducted through a cooperative effort with the University of Washington College of Forest Resources. Data were gathered by the author, a graduate student in that Department, and by another graduate student, Matthew Carroll, under the direction of Dr. Robert G. Lee.

Study Site

Eatonville is a small town (population about 1,000 in 1980) located in the foothills close to Mt. Rainier, in western Washington State. A diversity of available natural resources allows a wide spectrum of recreational choices. Outdoor opportunities are available on nearby national forest and national park lands, as well

as on private and state lands in the area. In addition to its proximity to attractive recreational resources in western Washington, Eatonville is also within 60 miles of two major urban centers, Seattle and Tacoma. Tourism and the logging industry are primary sources of employment and revenue for the town (Eatonville Data Summary 1981).

Theoretical Approach

This project was conceived as an opportunity to study the ways in which community social relationships contributed to an individual's participation in recreation activities, both in the town and on public lands near Eatonville. In this study, we were less concerned with the overall social network structures of the town, than with how social relationships with specific categories of others influenced recreation choice behaviors. We assumed that these social relationships were part of larger community networks which could be discovered in a more detailed study, and our methods reflect this.

The specifically network-oriented study of how social relationships might lead to recreation activity involvement is a unique focus in both sociology and recreation. As a result, there are no explicit theories or hypotheses to guide development of a model. The theoretical approach followed here is based on a critical analysis of research literature in leisure, phenomenology, and structural sociology. The intent of this exploratory case study is to derive generalizations which can be tested in later studies. In this regard, the procedures follow a grounded theory approach (Glaser and Strauss 1967), where hypotheses and theoretical development arise from the data analysis effort.

In this study, we were interested in how the people of a specific town considered themselves to be linked by social bonds and interpersonal relationships to other people living both within and outside that locale. The approach to community which seemed most useful for our inquiries was Bender's (1978) reasoning that: "Community...is best defined as a network of social relation(ships) marked by mutuality and emotional bonds" (p. 7).

We propose that the context of leisure is contained within the non-instrumental, affective relationships of community social networks, and that relationships of leisure are expressed as recreation involvements. This initial proposition is suggested (but never tested) in the theoretical and empirical research about social networks. Social networks research provides a starting point for analysis of the relational context of leisure.

For example, Bott (1955: 349) hypothesized that "the degree of segregation in the role-relationship of husband and wife varies directly with the connectedness of the family's social network." She used as one indicator of role relationship "the amount of leisure time spent together," suggesting a relation between recreation participation and the degree of connectedness in social networks of spouses. However, she did not further elaborate the nature of leisure.

Granovetter (1973: 1378) suggests that "weak," rather than strong social ties between people, "are indispensable to individuals' opportunities and to their integration into communities." Weak ties are useful for transmitting information, and for bridging groups. His formulation raises questions about whether the context of leisure contains weak or strong ties, and how each of these might be carried out in recreation choices.

Fischer (1982: 306) proposes that "there is something distinctive about the contents of relation(ship)s which people called 'friends'. These ties tended primarily to be relations of sociability." This conclusion seems to support the claim from recreation research that people go to recreation places with family and/or friends, but raises questions about exactly which others are labelled as "friends" and what this particular relationship means among all other social involvements.

Empirical Procedures

Sample and Design

In this pilot study, the sample was chosen using a systematic sampling method with a random start. A town street and residence map was obtained, and provided the sampling frame from which households were chosen. The first street was chosen randomly, then researchers moved from street to street in a clockwise fashion. Every tenth household was approached; if the householder declined to participate, the next (eleventh) household was chosen. Altogether, 26 households were chosen, with one household declining to participate due to illness in the family. Though this procedure may have introduced bias in selecting households located on the periphery of town, it was suitable for a preliminary study.

Selected households were visited by a researcher and both male and female heads-of-household were asked to participate independently in hour-long interviews. The contacts were made only on weekends during February and March, due to other commitments of the research team. However, this was also seen as an appropriate time to find persons at home, and to conduct (or schedule times for) interviews. In most cases, the interviews were completed at the time the subject was contacted.

From a total of 25 households, then, 44 interviews were completed: 24 were with females, five of whom were single heads-of-households; 20 interviews were with males, one of whom was a single head-of-household. In addition, the researchers conversed with only one of the two spouses in six other households, and also spoke informally with a number of persons identified by respondents as "community influentials": the mayor, the librarian, and shopkeepers. The data presented in this paper is from the 44 completed interviews. Demographic information about these subjects is presented in Table 1.

Data were collected using guided, unstructured conversational interviews. That is, the researcher came prepared with a set of topics and questions to ask the respondent, but followed only a general order in conducting the "conversation." This technique is appropriate in exploratory studies which are attempting to uncover relationships between variables in an imprecisely-defined model. Respondents were asked to discuss their recreation and leisure activities, their social network involvements, and provide some limited socio-demographic data. A standardized form developed by the author was used to record each subject's responses. A list of variables is provided in Appendix A.

Operationalizations: Recreation and Leisure Behaviors

Subjects were asked to talk about the extent of their participation in 25 outdoor recreation activities, including five motorized activities which often occur as dispersed use on forested lands, and 20 other outdoor activities. The list of activities was devised by completing a literature review of other outdoor recreation studies, and

TABLE 1

**Socio-Demographic Characteristics
of Eatonville Subjects**

	Female	Male
Subjects n = 44	24	20
Households n = 25	19 husband/wife couples, plus: 5 female single HOH	
		1 male single HOH
Age Profile		
20-29	6	6
30-39	8	5
40-49	5	4
50-59	3	1
60 +	2	4
Occupations		
Housewife	13	--
Administrative	2	2
Blue Collar	--	13
Secretarial	6	--
Retired	3	5

then compiling a typical range of activity possibilities. In the final list, an "other" category was included for subjects to include additional activity categories to reflect their recreation participation habits.

Subjects were also asked to describe their weekly leisure pursuits, which were characterized as "pleasurable individual or social activities done around home or town in free time." In addition to reporting a frequency of participation (by month or year) in specific recreation and leisure pursuits, subjects also described their seasonal participation, whether they went to specific outdoor locations (forest lands, park lands, private lands) for a specific activity, and who among their kin or friends they typically participated with.

Operationalizations: Social Relationships and Network Ties

Respondents were asked to describe their existing community social ties: their interpersonal relationships with family, friends, neighbors, work-mates, and colleagues in local organizations. In this study, "immediate family" refers only to a spouse and children living in the same household as the respondent. "Extended family" refers to the parents and siblings of that subject, as well as to other relatives of either spouse and to older children living away from home. "Friends" were any non-relatives who had more than an acquaintance with the subject. Each other was described by age, gender, and how near they lived to the subject.

In addition, each subject was asked to discuss the nature of the relation with each other named. Sociometric-type relational questions were asked about each person named, including: What is your relationship to this person (kin, childhood friend, know through church, children are in same grade)? How frequently do you

talk to Person X? Do you two ever do things socially together? What kinds of things do you do? Does your family get together with Person X's family at all? Who are the people you feel closest to? Some limited cross-checks were available by comparing the reports of spouses about characteristics of immediate and extended family members.

Except in cases where spouses in a household responded to questions by talking about their mutual relationship, it was impossible to determine if the linkages reported by each subject were reciprocal. That is, there is no way of knowing from this data whether both parties in a relationship accord it the same amount of primacy - unless the researchers, by chance, interviewed both parties. In addition, while each subject indicated a general level of frequency of interaction with an other (number of times talked to in a week, number of times doing things together in a week), no verifiable measure of intensity was available in this study.

Based on answers to questions probing the interpersonal relationships between subjects and their significant others, two measures were created. First, each subject was rated on the expressed "strength," or closeness, of his or her interpersonal ties with individual members of the immediate family, extended family, and friends. Then, a network strength measure was obtained for relationships within each category of immediate and extended families, and friends, by aggregating the measures for each individual relationship in that particular category. The concept of "strength of ties" was operationalized only to a gross level due to the nature of the conversational data: three levels (strong, moderate, and weak) were utilized.

Relationships classified as "strong" are those in which the subject and specific others have frequent contact, share interests and activities, communicate often, or typically exchange information or goods. Conversely, a relationship classified as "weakly-tied" is one where the subject and specific others may see each other

infrequently, or reside some distance from one another, or consider each other to be only casual acquaintances. A category for "moderate-strength ties" was included to accommodate ties which had characteristics somewhere between the levels of strong and weak. It was possible for a subject to have no strong ties, or to have aggregated strong ties with more than one category of others.

It is reasonable to wonder whether people can make the kind of rank ordering we requested about their social worlds. We believe that it is possible to do this at a gross level, and that if problems are to occur, they will occur in the defining of relationship which are close to "moderate" but a little stronger than "weak" and a little weaker than "strong." For those subjects who had tied scores on these strength dimensions, the determination was made to characterize them in the direction of the stronger tie. While this may overestimate the strength of some relationships, it at least does not diminish the impact of a relation. It goes without saying that a more precise measure would be necessary for further application of this method.

Under no circumstances should the classification of "strong" to "weak" be viewed as a value placed on the nature of a relationship (i.e., a strong relation is "better than" a weak relation). The classification refers only to a relative ordering of a subject's social relationships with others, based on frequency, content, and involvement. As Granovetter (1973) has pointed out, social ties of various obligation serve very different, but equally important, functions.

Results and Analysis

Sociometric analysis and limited descriptive statistical analysis were performed analyzing the following issues: (a) individual differences in social ties and recreation behaviors; (b) differences in network patterns and recreation behaviors between male and female heads-of-households; and (c) comparisons of husband's and wife's independent and joint network patterns and recreation behaviors. In this exploratory study, our results are descriptive of egocentric network patterns, and can be generalized only to the sample studied.

In this particular study, a network-producing computer algorithm was not used for data analysis for a variety of reasons. Most computer programs which produce network maps do not carry provisions for dealing with the constraints we have on this exploratory study data, namely: we do not have verifiable frequencies of contact; we do not have data concerning reciprocity of ties; and most importantly, we do not have a large enough sample to create a meaningful network map of community interactions. And, as noted above, we were not particularly concerned with the overall network structure of a community-as-locale, but were interested in how specific types of relationships-of-community created opportunities for leisure and recreation.

Most network-producing computer algorithms require nearly complete representation of all members of the social system under study (this is perhaps why these computer programs are applied quite frequently, and handsomely, in studies of whole organization communication structures). Using these programs for a randomly-selected segment of a local community is, for now, questionable. See Tichy, Tushman, and Fombrun (1979) for a further explanation of computer-aided network studies.

Egocentric Network Patterns

Table 2 displays data on the aggregated strength measure for each subject's relational ties to others in the categories of immediate family, extended family, and friends. Data are arranged by couple: "Person 1a" represents the husband, and "1b" is the wife. The same representation is carried throughout. The last six entries in the table are for subjects who are single heads-of-household (one male, Person 20a, and five females, Persons 21b-25b). Relationships are categorized as strong (S), moderate (M), or weak (W); an "x" signifies that a subject has no reported ties in that category.

There are a number of interesting points made evident by this classification. Each spouse in a household may have different contacts and strengths of relationships with different others. In a given household, the two spouses may or may not indicate the same intensity of relationships, even with other members of the immediate family (for example, 6a-b, 7a-b, 8a-b, and others). Some sets of spouses, however, do report a matching set of relationships (for example, 1a-b, 4a-b, 5a-b, and others).

Among the individuals who are single heads-of-household (20a-25b), it is often the extended family which has primacy in an individual's social relationships. Often the extended family relationship has a "spill-over" effect into other categories and might compensate for a less-strong immediate family. Activities in a large, active extended family sometimes also takes the place of more extensive involvement with friends: to some extent, extended family members "are" the friends.

TABLE 2

Aggregated Strength of Relational Ties

Subject	Immediate Family	Extended Family	Friends
1a	S	W	W
1b	S	W	W
2a	S	x	W
2b	S	M	W
3a	S	W	M
3b	S	M	x
4a	S	S	M
4b	S	S	M
5a	S	x	M
5b	S	x	M
6a	M	M	S
6b	S	W	M
7a	M	x	S
7b	S	M	x
8a	M	M	S
8b	S	M	W
9a	S	M	M
9b	S	M	M
10a	M	S	M
10b	S	W	W
11a	S	W	S
11b	S	W	M
12a	M	x	S
12b	M	M	S
13a	M	S	W
13b	S	M	W
14a	S	S	x
14b	S	x	x
15a	M	S	S
15b	S	x	M
16a	M	M	M
16b	M	M	M
17a	M	M	S
17b	S	M	x
18a	M	S	M
18b	S	M	x
19a	M	x	S
19b	S	x	W
20a	x	x	M
21b	M	S	M
22b	S	S	M
23b	M	S	M
24b	W	W	x
25b	x	M	M

Table 3 provides a statistical summary of the data in Table 2. As in Table 2, the rating "strong", "moderate", or "weak" here does not describe individual relations, but characterizes the cumulative relationships with all others who could be described as members of the three categories of family or friend. While it is likely that persons are close (strongly-tied) to at least some people in each category, we were interested in an overall measure of how they stood in relation to all others in their social worlds.

Since this is an aggregated measure, the specific characterization does not depend on the total number of others with whom one has social connections in any of these categories; that is, a person may have one, or twenty other-relationships, in a category. In addition, a person could have a category with no relationships (for example, there may be no extended family), or could report that he or she had strongest ties to two categories of others. This, in fact, is the case for several people: two males and two females (4a, 4b; 14a; 22b; see Table 2) report strong ties to both immediate and extended families; one male subject (15a; see Table 2) reports strong ties to extended family and also to friends; and another male (11a) reports strong ties to both immediate family and friends. Because of these double reports, row totals in this Table may equal more than 44.

As Table 3 indicates, of 44 total respondents, over half (n=26; 59.1 percent) report that they had strong social ties with other members of their immediate families (spouses and children). Almost 23 percent (n=10; 22.7 percent) report strong ties to members of the extended family, and 20.5 percent (n=9) report strong ties to friends. Five individuals (11.4 percent) report no strong ties at all, and several subjects report no existing ties within a category (2 persons (4.5 percent) have no ties to immediate family; 10 persons (22.7 percent) have no extended family ties; and 7 persons (15.9 percent) have no friendship ties).

TABLE 3

Aggregated Measures of Strength of Ties

	Immediate Family	Extended Family	Friends
Strong Ties	26 (59.1 %)	10 (22.7 %)	9 (20.5 %)
Moderate Ties	15 (34.1 %)	17 (38.6 %)	20 (45.4 %)
Weak Ties	1 (2.3 %)	7 (15.9%)	8 (18.2 %)
No Ties to Others	2 (4.5 %)	10 (22.7 %)	7 (15.9 %)

N = 44. Row totals may exceed this value since some subjects reported more than one set of strong ties.
 No Strong Ties = reported by 5 subjects (11.4 % of sample).

Table 4 outlines male and female differences with respect to the location of strong social ties in a subject's personal network. The totals in this Table (n=38) exclude six persons who report strong ties in more than one category, since they have overall a very different set of relational ties than persons with only one set of strongly-connected others. As the data indicate, of the 21 subjects who report strong social ties to members of their immediate families, 16 are female (76.2 percent) and only 5 (23.8 percent) are male. The implication is striking: most females in our sample report that their strongest network ties are to other members of the immediate family. Further, all of these 16 subjects are married, not single, heads-of-household.

In addition, more males than females have strongest ties to extended family (n=6, 75 percent). And, 85.7 percent (n=6) of the subjects reporting that their strong network ties are to friends are male; only one female (14.3 percent) reports having strongest network ties to friends.

Results of a chi square analysis of the data in Table 4 support a generalization that there are significant differences between male and female subjects with respect to the patterns of their strongest social network ties ($\chi^2 = 8.998$; $df = 3$; significant at $p=.05$).

These data reinforce the general trend evident from our ethnographic research: in this community, many women appear to be distinctly tied to their immediate families, with little opportunity or choice to develop other kinds of close personal ties. Often, this is the result of a small-town life style where women stay home to raise children, while husbands work outside the home (13 of 19 married female subjects describe themselves as "housewives"). In other cases, some women --

TABLE 4

Male-Female Differences in Strongest Network Ties

	Immediate Family	Extended Family	Friends
Males	5 (23.8 %)	6 (75.0 %)	6 (85.7 %)
Females	16 (76.2 %)	2 (25.0 %)	1 (14.3 %)
Total	21	8	7

N = 38; Persons who report strong network ties in more than one category are excluded.

$\chi^2 = 8.998$; $df = 3$; significant at $p=.05$

particularly older women -- choose to maintain only immediate family ties when it is difficult to keep up other kinds of ties. For example, there may be only a few, distant members of the extended family, or many friends may have moved away over the years.

While the social worlds of the female subjects appears limited, male subjects report a variety of personal social contacts in their egocentric networks. Our conversational data suggest that, when a man reports strongest ties to his extended family, usually his parents and some siblings live in town or locally. The subject often has grown up in the area, and his job may involve working for, or with, his father in the logging or construction business. The two females who report strongest ties to extended family members represent a variation on this theme: these women are single heads-of-household whose extended families appear to function as "immediate family" for the single parent and her children.

Although we have only limited data, when a male reports that his strongest social ties are to friends, two distinct patterns of ties are evident. In the first, subjects are heavily assimilated into local, identifiable "cliques" of varying size and nature. In the second, subjects are members of loosely-organized, somewhat select "friendship circles."

The cliques we could identify in Eatonville are composed of tightly-knit groups of friends and co-workers who have generally grown up in the area; one example is a clique of 25-35 year old loggers characterized by others in town as "rowdies." The friendship circles which we could identify were, on the other hand, less visible than cliques, had less powerful norms and expectations for involvement, and were primarily composed of neighbors and friends with similar interests. One such group was a gathering of older, retired men who socialized and played cards frequently at the Eagles club in town.

Recreation Choices

In this exploratory study, subjects were rated on the strength of their social ties to three sets of others: immediate family members, extended family members, and friends. Even if a respondent reported strongest personal ties to immediate family, his or her recreation participation is likely to be influenced by the availability and strength of ties to other persons (extended family and friends) in the network as well. The data on recreation participation should indicate how outdoor activity participation differs when done with a variety of others to whom one has specific kinds of ties.

Tables 5, 6, and 7 summarize the influence of network involvement on recreation participation for persons reporting strong ties to immediate family, extended family, and friends. In Table 5, subjects are categorized by their aggregated network measures of strong ties to either immediate family, extended family, or friends. The total number of subjects is 45 because subjects with more than one strong measure are included ($n=6$), and subjects with no strong ties are subtracted ($n=5$) from the initial total of 44. Total activity participation is then summed for all persons in that category, and a range and mean number of activities is computed.

The importance of the mean and range of activities is to suggest that persons who have different kinds of social relationships within community networks have different amounts of recreation activity involvement. That is, the average number of activities per person may be a function of who else the subject is socially tied to, and whether these ties are strong or weak. That individuals who report strongest ties to extended family should average more activities per person than other subjects is not

TABLE 5

**Social Network Ties and
Numbers of Recreation Activities**

	Strong Ties to Immediate Family	Strong Ties to Extended Family	Strong Ties to Friends
Total n Subjects	26	10	9
% of Sample	57.7 %	22.2 %	20 %
Males	8	6	8
Females	18	4	1
Total Activities	120	99	76
Average per Person	7.73	9.9	8.44
Range	3-12	6-16	4-13

unusual. Our social network data suggest that these individuals are more central in the social network, and have access, directly or indirectly, with a larger set of community others, at least some of whom are potential recreation partners. With more people involved, the subject is not the only one making decisions about his recreation choices -- he benefits from choices made by others with whom he is in a relation.

Interestingly, while the average number of activities for persons with strongest ties to immediate family was 7.73, there are differences with respect to male and female patterns here. Table 6 shows the results of separating scores for males and females in this category regarding their activity participation.

We can conclude from the data in this Table that even if males have strongest ties to members of the immediate family, they participate in about 2 more activities than females who report strongest ties to immediate family. Both males and females in this category, though, average fewer activities than persons who have strongest ties to extended families or friends.

Direct support for the suggestion that social network ties are replicated in recreation participation in our sample is shown in Table 7. Activity participation is calculated for subjects with strong ties to immediate family, extended family, and friends, to indicate the specific others they recreate with. The most striking results here are for subjects who report strongest ties to immediate family: 72 percent of their recreation activities are also done with immediate family members. Only limited numbers of activities are done with members of the extended family (14 percent), with friends (7 percent), or alone (5 percent).

TABLE 6

**Male/Female Activity Differences for
Subjects with Strong Immediate Family Ties**

	Females	Males
Total N Subjects	18	8
Total Activities	126	75
Range	3-11	6-12
Average Per Person	7.0	9.37

When strongest ties are to extended family, subjects also report doing 56 percent of their activities with extended family members, with an almost equal amount of activities done with immediate family (16 percent) or with friends (20 percent). When strongest ties are with friends, 52 percent of all activities are done with friends, but only a small percentage are done with extended family (5 percent), while a larger number are done with immediate family (30 percent). Table 7 also lists the rank-order of activities which subjects report most frequently in each category. A chi square analysis performed on the data in the top half of Table 7, comparing the category of strongest ties with the percent of activities done with specific others, standardizes the data for comparability. The chi square measure of 247 is very strongly significant at the $p=.05$ level of significance, and confirms trends illustrated by the percentages above.

Persons with Strong Ties to Immediate Family

Generalizations from Table 7 are reinforced with our conversational data. In the interviews, we found that subjects who have strong ties to immediate family, but weak ties to both extended families and friends are often "isolated" (in the network sense) in the community setting, and also in recreation. Included in this category are a married couple from a geographically-isolated household, and two female subjects whose husbands have predominant strong ties outside the immediate family. One male in this category reports that he sees out-of-town friends once a year on fishing trips, and a female subject in this category socializes "every so often" with a few friends in the area. Otherwise, all isolates report that their recreation activities are done with a spouse or alone.

TABLE 7

Specific Activity Patterns for Network Ties

Activities	Strong Ties to Immediate Family (n=26)	Strong Ties to Extended Family (n=10)	Strong Ties to Friends (n=9)
% Total with Others:			
Imm. Fam.	72 %	16 %	30 %
Ext. Fam.	14 %	56 %	5 %
Friends	7 %	20 %	52 %
Alone	5 %	7 %	11 %
Activities With Immediate Family	1. drive/ sightsee 2. fishing 3. picnic 4. berry pick	1. drive/ sightsee 2. swimming 3. berry pick	1. drive/ sightsee 2. picnic
Activities With Extended Family	1. berry pick 2. firewood 3. hunting 4. picnic	1. gather food 2. Xmas tree 3. day hike 4. berry pick	1. fishing 2. berry pick 3. Xmas tree
Activities With Friends	1. drive/ sightsee 2. firewood 3. gather foods	1. drive/ sightsee 2. swim 3. picnic 4. firewood	1. motorbike/ jeep 2. fishing 3. hunting

Individuals reporting "No Strong Ties" (n=5) are excluded.

For comparisons of category of strongest ties with percent of all activities done with specific others:

$\chi^2 = 247$; $df = 6$; strongly significant at $p=.05$

In this case where subjects report strong ties to immediate family, and moderately strong ties to either extended family or friends, subjects have access to more diverse social ties, and it is expected that they will be involved in a broader range of activities than isolates. This is supported in the recreation data: according to conversational data, subjects with moderate ties to extended family report participation in an average of two more activities than do isolates (8 to about 6 activities). Recreation activities often revolve around children in the household, or involve passive or close-to-home activities such as driving for pleasure, gardening, or swimming at a local lake. In Eatonville, the social networks and recreation choices of 17 of 24 female subjects can be characterized by one of the scenarios above.

Interestingly, when there are strong ties to immediate family, and moderate ties to friends -- but weak or nonexistent ties to extended family -- the data indicate that the friendship ties are often through church, school, or neighborhoods (rather than through a long-standing relation, such as growing up together). And, with no extended family locally, average participation in recreation activities may actually decline.

When subjects report strong ties to immediate family and moderately strong ties to both extended family as well as friends, the number and variety of social ties is reflected in potential recreation choices. Subjects in this category report that they participate in an average of 10 outdoor activities per person -- as compared with the average of 6-7 activities for those persons with at least one weak set of relationships. In addition, these subjects report that they are specific about partners for recreation activities. One male subject reports motorbiking with friends from work, hunting with his father, and hiking and driving for pleasure with his wife and children.

Persons With Strong Ties to Extended Family

In the case where subjects report that their strongest ties are to members of the extended family, immediate family ties were often described as moderate, and friendship ties as weak, in our data. The individuals in this category are all young adults (ages 25-35) who have lived in Eatonville all their lives; most are male, except for three female single-heads-of-household. The subject's extended family is generally large, with most members residing in town or in the local area. In some cases (when friendship ties are described as moderate, rather than weak), it is likely that the friends are well-connected among themselves as well, and are not linked to the subject's extended family only through the subject, but also through other connections too.

Primary recreation activities are done with members of the extended family, with or without the immediate family. For example, one male reports doing 7 of 9 recreation activities with members of his extended family, about half of these without his wife or children present. In some cases, the spouse (especially if her extended family ties are weak) will maintain independent social ties to the husband's extended family, and will carry out some of her leisure patterns through these friends.

When the spouse joins the subject and his/her extended family for recreation, there is often a separation of activities. The classic case in Eatonville is the large camping/hunting party for "the family", organized by the males of the extended family. In these outings, the father, brothers, cousins, and occasionally a sister or friend would attend specifically to hunt, while most of the wives and other female relatives would remain near the campsite enjoying activities such as berry picking,

taking nature walks, playing with children, or firewood gathering for home use. A particular benefit of this sort of social arrangement is the cooperative ownership and use of specialized recreation equipment or facilities (motor homes and trailers, guns, fishing gear, a cabin).

Subjects With Strong Ties to Friends

As noted earlier, two distinct patterns of relational ties are evident when subjects report that their strongest social ties are to friends: involvement in a friendship circle, or in a clique. These network subgroups are important structural features because -- especially in the case of cliques -- the members are often tied more closely to one another than to other persons outside the subgroup. They share bonds with other members and adopt symbols which identify them to outsiders. (Some of these symbols are recreation technologies: motorcycles of a specific kind, vehicles, and distinctive clothes.) When involved in either subgroup, subjects usually report weak ties to both immediate and extended families, though in a few cases, moderately strong ties may be reported with immediate family members.

However, recreation participation patterns do differ between cliques and friendship circles, though it is unclear whether this is simply, in our sample, a matter of age differences, or network relations. In our data, not all clique members are members of the same clique. One subject is a ring-leader of a band of 25-35 year old "town rowdies" who get most of their recreation excitement by trying to stay one step ahead of the law: they spend much of their free time racing around town in fast cars, scouting out the local forest lands on motorcycles looking for game (usually with poaching in mind), and getting thrown out of the pool hall and bars in town. They do

not associate with a more conventional clique of older loggers who meet frequently at the pool hall for socializing, and who keep in touch with one another through the day by monitoring CB messages.

However, clique membership (regardless of which clique one belong to) creates for its members certain commitments and responsibilities. Subjects say that they learn recreation activities from other group members, and that they purchase recreation equipment (jeeps, motorcycles, CB radio sets) at the urging of other group members. It is not surprising that clique members report doing most recreational activities with other members of their clique. In our data, one man reports doing 7 of 11 outdoor activities with only male friends in his clique; another reports doing 6 of 8 activities with other clique members, and another, 4 of 6 activities. The remaining activities are usually done with immediate family, and include activities such as driving and sightseeing, picnicking, and swimming at local lakes.

On the other hand, membership in friendship circles is not so tightly constrained. These sub-groups are often composed of neighbors or work-related friends who have similar interests and are brought together by proximity: for one man, the friendship circle is composed of a few neighbors who share interests in motorscooters and bowling, and belong to the same town organizations.

Another man and his wife (the only female in this structural category) meet regularly with a few other couples for dinners, shows, and special activities. Although they share membership in a particular friendship circle, the wife is also a member of a separate friendship circle revolving around a mixed group of work-friends. So, while the cliques we discovered were all-male, friendship circles were not necessarily constrained by gender. And, while it appears unlikely that a person would belong to more than one clique, membership in more than one friendship circle does not seem to be so unusual.

Persons With No Strong Ties

For those individuals who report no strong ties with any of the three categories of immediate or extended family or friends, recreation patterns reflect the constraints of life style or limited social connections. For example, one couple moved to Eatonville from the city to retire, and live on a hillside ridge above the town. Their recreation activities are mostly home-centered (gardening, berry picking, walking, pets) and other-centered, with special events occurring at well-defined times with extended family and friends (holidays, anniversaries). Another subject who had only recently moved to town reported that his social contacts are either with workmates or neighbors, and include some planned recreational outings for fishing with workmates.

For other individuals, recreation outings are limited by either work schedules, or by having few local friends or acquaintances, and/or no local family. In network terms, these individuals are on the periphery of social involvement in Eatonville, and could best be described as network isolates.

Conjugal Roles and Recreation Activities

In addition to analyzing individual responses, and comparing male/female network patterns with respect to recreation participation, we also studied patterns of recreation activity participation for husband/wife couples in Eatonville. Responses were analyzed to determine if married couples had shared or separate patterns of

TABLE 8

Network Patterns and Recreation Choices for Couples

	Couple (from Table 1)	Lo/Cos Rating		Years in Town		Number of Activities	
		Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male
Recip- rocal	1a,b		C	6		6	6
	2a,b	L	C	7		11	10
	3a,b		C	1		10	8
	4a,b		L	40		11	7
	5a,b		C	1		7	4
n=7	9a,b		C	11		12	11
	11a,b		L	38		9	5
	<hr/>						
Non- Recip- rocal	6a,b		L	4		11	6
	7a,b	C	L	3	31	8	3
	8a,b		C	3		8	9
	10a,b		L	1	17	11	6
	13a,b		L	10	20	6	9
n=10	14a,b		L	10	32	9	9
	15a,b		L	1	28	8	6
	17a,b		L	40		4	4
	18a,b	C	L	1	23	11	10
	19a,b		L	1		6	3
<hr/>							
Other Ties n=2	12a,b		C	7		9	14
	16a,b		L	27	13	7	8

For comparisons between local/cosmopolitan rating and reciprocal/non-reciprocal ties:

$$\chi^2 = 4.39; df = 1; \text{ significant at } p=.05$$

social network involvement in the community, and what these interaction patterns meant for recreation participation. Table 8 displays the data on conjugal patterns from our sample.

Two distinct patterns of network ties are evident in our sample. First, in a pattern of "reciprocal ties," both spouses of seven couples independently report that their strongest social ties are to the immediate family, and thus to each other. Second, ten couples reported a pattern of "non-reciprocal ties," where one spouse of each couple (in our sample, always the female) reported strongest ties to members of the immediate family, while the other spouse reports that strongest ties are to either extended family or friends. Only two couples in our sample did not fit into either of these categories: both spouses of one couple reported no strong ties; and both spouses in another couple had strongest ties to friendship circles (though, interestingly, not the same circles).

Though our conversational data are limited, it is possible to make some generalizations about the patterns of social ties these couples exhibit (Table 8). For those couples who have reciprocal social ties, both spouses have resided in Eatonville for the same number of years together. This ranged from 1 year for two couples, to 40 years for another couple. This consistency is not evident among couples who have non-reciprocal ties: spouses in four couples have resided in Eatonville for the same number of years (ranging from 1 to 40 years), but for six other couples, one spouse is a "newcomer." In all cases, it is the female who has moved to a town where the male has lived for most, if not all, of his life.

Couples with reciprocal ties reported that their strongest social ties were to the immediate family and thus to one another as well. Demographically, these couples include geographically-isolated couples, one elderly couple, a young couple who recently moved to town, and other couples who choose to spend time primarily with

the immediate family. Conversational data support the generalization that the spouses in each of these seven couples share most of their recreational activities. The most popular of these activities are driving for pleasure, day hiking, sightseeing, picnicking, swimming, and mushroom gathering.

It is important to note that these couples also have social ties of varying strength to extended family and friends. In cases where ties to these others are weak, recreation activities with others may be limited and is likely to occur in structured settings (for example, large social get-togethers at clubs or organizations in town, such as dances or yearly picnics). As ties to others develop towards moderately strong, couples with reciprocal ties choose specific others to do specific activities with (for example, taking vacation trips together, or forming family camping parties). No matter how strong ties are to others, though, couples who have a pattern of reciprocal social ties participate in most recreation activities together as a unit.

In situations where social ties are non-reciprocal between husband and wife (one spouse has strong ties to immediate family, and the other has strong ties to either extended family or friends), we expect recreation participation to differ for each spouse as well. This is supported in our conversational data. In all ten cases, the female has strong ties to immediate family, while the male has strong ties to extended family or friends. In seven of ten cases which fit this pattern, the female spouse has strongest ties to the immediate family, is not employed, and has young children at home. These subjects participate in recreation activities which can accommodate youngsters, such as picnics and swimming at local parks, supporting a local sports or service club to which children belong, bicycle riding, and activities around the home.

The husbands, who report strongest ties to either extended family or friends, participate in recreation activities which often do not include the immediate family. These activities are sometimes heavily oriented towards consumptive use of the forest land resources in the area around Eatonville. Hunting and fishing, gathering pinecones for sale, sightseeing to track game, and firewood cutting are popular activities.

In all ten cases exhibiting a pattern of non-reciprocal social ties, the husbands grew up in town or locally, have extended family living locally, and have local blue-collar jobs. Usually their wives were raised in a small town, but not necessarily in Eatonville or in the immediate area. So, while males are tightly-connected in the community network structure, their wives frequently are not. Under this pattern of non-reciprocal ties, most recreation activities are undertaken separately by husbands and wives, and the few which are shared, center around activities that include children.

Table 8 also presents data rating each partner of a couple on a "local" or "cosmopolitan" scale (after Merton 1966). This measure was derived from a combination of reported mass media usage, local extended family, and years living in any small town. The data suggest that couples who report reciprocal social ties have a primarily cosmopolitan orientation: that is, they read state and national newspapers, follow national news, and have relatives living out of town. Interestingly, for each of these couples, both spouses have resided in Eatonville for exactly the same number of years (though there is no indication that this measure differentiates between newcomers and old-timers).

On the other hand, those couples reporting non-reciprocal ties tend to have a "local" orientation, and one spouse in the couple has generally lived in Eatonville much longer than the other. When split ratings (one spouse has a local rating, and the other a cosmopolitan rating) are excluded from the analysis, a chi square test comparing local/cosmopolitan ratings on the basis of differences in conjugal ties confirms the trends identified ($\chi^2 = 4.39$; significant at $p=.05$). These results also reinforce the trends identified in the analysis of the social networks of males and females, and their differing leisure patterns, in Eatonville. In addition, they provide -- from the perspective of leisure and recreation -- an extension of the Bott (1955) hypothesis relating conjugal role relationship with network connectedness.

Conclusions

Our exploratory study suggests that social network ties in a community may be replicated in the patterns of recreation participation which people exhibit. That is, how people choose activities and how they group together on-site may already be determined by their involvements in community structural ties which link them to specific categories of others. In addition, the social ties activated for recreation follow through into community life after the recreation experience, and are likely to be reflected in other kinds of community involvement, such as work and other neighborly exchange relations. In the community of Eatonville, several conclusions can be reached about the influence of social relationships on recreation.

First, the social worlds of males and females in our sample have very different forms. Most of the female subjects report that their strongest social ties are to members of their immediate families, while male subjects report their strongest social ties primarily to members of their extended families. On the surface, it appears that women are limited here by the narrowness of their network relations, and that men have many more opportunities as a result of broader networks.

While this is true to an extent, social interaction opportunities are not as limited for females as it first appears. The socialization of children takes place through connections among the women, who are involved in PTA, church, school, and neighborhood functions. In such a small town, where everyone knows everyone else, some amount of cooperative caring for children is the norm. More than a few women remarked that they shared child-care services with one another on a regular, and very informal, basis. These are exchange relations (which are not necessarily affective relationships, or in a leisure context) but they foster opportunities for the development of interactions of sociability. Though we do not have specific data on these exchanges, it appears that the informality of the relation allows it to be interpreted within a "leisure" context. The meaning of the exchange relation is both exchange of services, and also leisure sociability.

In addition, it is a woman's leisure which is important among this sample: recreation activities are "events" which occur at defined times, but leisure is what happens in the daily socializing, meeting at the grocery store, talking on the phone, or visiting around town. Children, kin, neighbors, and friends intersect in various sociable ways that cannot easily be translated into a list of "recreation activities." In fact, that sort of a list short-changes the variation in the leisure patterns of the women of our sample.

It is interesting to note that extended family ties are maintained through the males in our Eatonville sample. Berkowitz (1982: 29) comments that: "there is a tendency for men in nuclear families to be drawn into their wives' kinship systems...." Since that was clearly not the case in this sample, future research should consider the ways in which resource-dependent (forestry, fisheries, mining) communities place certain constraints on the relationships of the people who reside there.

One reason that our male subjects were so closely tied to their fathers was for employment opportunities and job-seeking assistance in timber and construction companies. The meaning of the social relationship was thus multi-faceted. Jobs are distributed based on "who knows whom," and so it is important that sons maintain strong ties with fathers who have the same occupations. Recreation activities served to solidify these work-related relationships by moving them into a leisure context.

A second conclusion to be drawn from this data is that, for individuals who are single heads-of-household, the extended family contains the most important sets of social ties for both community network involvement and also recreation participation. Singles benefit from having a range of kin to call upon for assistance and sociability; they also benefit from having, through the kin relation, "weak ties" to friends of kin.

Wellman (1988) refers to networks as repositories of relationships for "access to scarce resources," and our conversational data suggest that this is an appropriate way to view kin relationships from the perspective of a single parent household. The meaning of kin relationships in a leisure context is thus grounded in the value of the family emotional support, exchange potential, and access to unknown others.

Finally, how social network patterns of spouses influence individual and conjugal recreation choices is an area for further research. While no preconceived value should be placed on the benefits of either reciprocal or non-reciprocal patterns of social ties, it would be interesting to know how each type contributes to overall life-satisfaction and personal well-being, and to social isolation if a spouse is widowed or separated.

What is the meaning of having a spouse to share recreation activities with, as opposed to having a spouse whose leisure is oriented outside the marriage? Though we have no direct measure of this in our data, it would seem reasonable to suggest that the meanings of leisure here would depend in part on the connectedness of the total social network for both spouses. That is, how well-connected among themselves are the kin and friends surrounding each spouse? How strong are the emotional attachments, and the external demands of others on each partner? Certainly these issues would have implications for recreation activity participation, and for the meanings assigned to leisure.

CHAPTER 8
THE NETWORK STRUCTURES AND SOCIAL
MEANINGS OF LEISURE:
DISCUSSION

The combination of structural and phenomenological perspectives provides an innovative, theoretically useful approach to studying leisure. Until now, few studies about leisure have been explicitly structural or phenomenological, and as a result, we have little knowledge of the variables which may influence leisure behaviors and meanings. Studies such as those proposed and illustrated in this dissertation provide the basis for refining the revised model of leisure. The data from Eatonville suggest answers to the questions: how do social relationships fit within larger community social networks?; and, what do these structural arrangements mean for the creation of realities in a leisure context?

The Influence of Social Networks on Leisure

Social relationships and social networks influence leisure behaviors and meanings in two ways. First, direct social ties between an individual and an other, or several others, provides the opportunity for recreation behaviors to occur and leisure meanings to be created. Second, the "collective influence" of social network ties indirectly influence leisure meanings and behaviors. That is, individuals are connected to others, some of whom are also connected to one another; in addition, each of these others maintains a personal social network which has a unique configuration of social ties.

The study of "who will recreate with whom," then, becomes, under structural analysis, a function of (1) the individual's position in a network of social relations, and (2) the further characteristics of the extended linkages around him (including his personal linkages, and the secondary linkages which connect him to friends of his friends). How well social meanings are institutionalized likely depends on the characteristics of single social relationships, and their stability within an environment of competing relationships in broader social networks.

How do social relationships and network structures influence leisure and recreation? We can propose several hypotheses based on the Eatonville data. First, the size of the network is important. Having many other -- or "enough" other -- relational ties provides an individual with activity opportunities, information sources, material and helping resources, and sources of social support. In Eatonville, we found that having large extended family networks provided opportunities for greater leisure socializing and recreation activity for both men and women. Having smaller social networks, or networks composed of primarily non-significant ties, contributed to social isolation and fewer recreation activity involvements.

However, large numbers of others are less important than having some others related among themselves, and somewhat proximate to the subject. In social network terms, these are issues related to "proximity" and "density" of social relationships in networks. In Eatonville, when several extended family members lived nearby and saw one another and the subject often, the result was an increase in opportunities for recreation participation. In terms of leisure, these dense, proximate social ties created a wide range of socializing opportunities for both the subject and his or her immediate family (spouse and children).

These networks also, by virtue of density, placed constraints on appropriate free time behaviors: some extended families "always" got together for Sunday

brunch, and some fathers and sons "always" planned an extended hunting or fishing trip together in the fall. The extended family and friends in these dense networks, like some of Bott's (1955) urban families, exercised some degree of social control and influence over the behavior of not only the subject, but his/her immediate family as well.

In addition, having connections to many others in one's social surround usually means that there are many "weak ties" (i.e., friends of friends) with whom one is connected. The Eatonville data suggests (in support of Granovetter 1973) that these weak links are activated for instrumental purposes of recreation, not especially for leisure sociability. For example, in Eatonville, weak ties were used to gain access to private forest lands for hunting, camping, and huckleberry and mushroom picking. These ties were also utilized for job seeking among foresters and construction crews.

The frequency of interpersonal interaction appears to have importance for leisure and recreation involvements, but it is unclear whether this is a direct relationship. The Eatonville data suggests that the others a subject talks to most frequently are the same others identified as partners in relationships of leisure sociability. These are not necessarily the same others as the people identified as recreation partners. We might hypothesize that ties of leisure sociability overlap recreation ties under the following circumstances: when people have small networks, or dense networks, or networks containing multiplex ties. Certainly, in our data, leisure and recreation partners overlapped for couples with reciprocal ties (often small networks), and for persons having large numbers of extended family living locally (dense networks, and multiplex ties).

The Meaning of Meaning

The revised model of leisure claims that social realities are cooperatively created by persons involved in meaningful interpersonal relationships. The key issue in this regard is how leisure meanings are "social." Social meanings are collective interpretations about the nature and experience of leisure which are taken for granted and assumed to be real.

In Eatonville, several different social meanings were "real" in the experience of our subjects. For most male subjects, leisure meant a time to do recreation activities with extended family or friends. Leisure was equivalent to recreation participation. It occurred outside of work, but it seemed -- like work -- to be instrumental in purpose. One hunted for the thrill, but also to catch deer for meals; one camped with immediate and extended family, but the bigger agenda was fishing or looking for game; one maintained membership in a clique for the excitement, but also because of boredom.

For most housewives in our study, leisure was a context of sociability -- a pleasant interlude away from children, chores, or the effort of daily activity. Recreation, on the other hand, was an "event" which required planning and coordination. It did not bring more personal time, but less. That is not to say that recreation was unenjoyable: doing recreational activities with children was one way they got away from chores and had fun. But, as several commented, being a housewife and mother was not leisure.

On the other hand, several retired persons in our sample indicated that there was no distinction for them between "leisure" and the daily happenings of life. Since they were retired, "all the time is leisure." Recreation events were generally identified as the time when their children and grandchildren visited (no matter what

activities were done), or when couples got together with other couples for an evening of cards. For some of the retired men, recreation meant keeping in touch with former workmates by daily monitoring of CB radio communications, and by visiting the local Eagles Club at lunch or after dinner.

No members of our sample had what could be called a "leisure life-style." That is, the meanings of leisure were conventional for these people, where leisure was seen as one part of everyday life. Leisure was not a way of life, but a small part of it, for subjects in this rural town. We might hypothesize that network relational configurations which create the interpretation of leisure as life-style are different from the structural arrangements we uncovered in this town.

That is, the meaning of leisure as life-style is constructed in certain kinds of network structures and not others. For example, the pursuit of a leisure life-style probably requires that a person is relatively cosmopolitan, and is an "individualist" who works at leisure by being involved in many social and individual activities. The structural patterns which allow the development of this spirit probably include people who appear to be either very central, or very isolated, in social networks, as a result of having diverse and extensive sets of social relationships with many different kinds of others.

Limitations of the Eatonville Study

The Eatonville study was designed to explore the relations between social structures and leisure behaviors and meanings. As such, it represents a useful preliminary research effort in applying a revised sociology of leisure. The study also indicates several areas for future revision in data collection and analysis.

Future research efforts should refine and specify the characteristics of specific network variables identified in this study. Variables such as size of network, frequency of interaction, reciprocity of social ties, and network density appear to have some importance for leisure behaviors and meanings. Specification of these variables would contribute to both methodological and theoretical improvement in the study of leisure.

It would be illuminating to include some psycho-social measures of personal happiness, life satisfaction, and well-being in future studies of leisure. How the social structures and social meanings of leisure are entangled with perceptions of personal and community well-being is a useful area for future research. Given the current demographic trends on aging, it would be particularly interesting to study whether these perceptions change over the life course as a result of changes in network structure involvements (see Matthews 1986, Moody 1986, and Larson and Bradney 1988, for discussions of the meaning of family and friend networks in aging). A useful area for future research is how the behaviors and meanings of a person's leisure might mitigate potentially negative consequences of aging.

The Eatonville study was based on exploratory analysis of a small sample chosen by random selection. As a result, it was impossible to obtain reliable data about several critical components of social networks (reciprocity, and density). Further, the measure of "strength of social ties" was essentially a distance measure related to individual relations (i.e., how close do you feel to some one?). Whether it is proper to aggregate this measure to describe categories of others (immediate or extended family, or friends) is debatable. Future studies should apply data collection procedures which allow contact with others named by a subject in order to validate reports about the qualities of the relationship. In addition, better measures of network

variables are warranted; the social networks literature will provide guidance in this respect.

Finally, development of specific procedures for determining and analyzing the social "meanings" of leisure should receive highest attention. Phenomenological reasoning asserts that meanings are real, and that they arise from social interaction in relationships. The specific sociological operationalization of this concept has yet to occur, and the analytic procedures differ between researchers.

CHAPTER 9

CONCLUSIONS AND CONSEQUENCES OF A REVISED SOCIOLOGY OF LEISURE

The objective of this dissertation is to present a revised sociology of leisure based on a combination of phenomenological and structural paradigms. Leisure is described as a "social context" which contains recreation behaviors and social meanings, both of which are mediated through interpersonal social relationships. These relationships, in turn, are the basic units of extended social networks of community. The primary assertion of this dissertation is that specific structural patterns of relationships and networks influence the social construction of leisure meanings and the activation of recreation behaviors.

Contributions

The model presented in this dissertation is important for a number of reasons. There is limited theoretical work in the sociology of leisure and recreation which attempts to study leisure as a consequence of interpersonal relationships. Research on social network connections comes primarily from the disciplines of sociology and anthropology, and leisure receives only token acknowledgement as one of many interesting independent variables. The effect of social networks on recreation participation and the construction of leisure meanings is rarely studied.

In addition, there is little theoretical or applied research which studies issues from the combined perspectives of structural sociology and phenomenology. This dissertation represents a unique attempt to blend the two, and to apply the new

approach in studies of leisure. While some details of procedure remain to be specified, the model is a significant contribution to both the sociology of leisure and the science of sociology.

Moreover, the approach proposed here is grounded in the discipline of natural resources sociology. The behaviors and meanings of leisure are negotiated and carried out in community settings and at recreation places in resource areas. Parks, forests, beaches, greenbelts, water areas, and other open spaces are natural resources as well as settings for human social activity. It is important that land managers and planners understand the human meanings and interpretations given to such resource places. As Miller, Gale, and Brown (1987: 3) point out, "natural resource policy is social policy."

The empirical research reported in this dissertation is an exploratory case study, rather than a completed test of a well-defined set of hypotheses. This approach was chosen for two reasons: to illustrate for leisure researchers the procedures of an unfamiliar social networks methodology, and to derive from data potential linkages between significant concepts identified in the literature.

Results from the exploratory study indicate that leisure is not a "residual" amount of time or a category of activity, as suggested in earlier research under traditional models, but a meaningful context of human experience. In leisure, the recreation behaviors, as well as the meaningful social constructions of reality, are consequences of human intention and interaction in social relationships. These relationships include not only dyadic involvements at on-site recreation places, but also the extended community social networks which extend across several different contexts of human experience.

Issues

Since the model proposed here is a preliminary formulation, several issues should be considered before it is applied in further research. First, there are issues related to the structural studies required under the model; and second, the procedures and methods of phenomenological inquiry are of concern.

Structural Analysis: Practical Considerations

What is the practical relevance of the structural studies which are implied in this paper? Recreation and leisure research, conducted in applied settings such as parks, has traditionally sought results which could be used to solve management problems. The social groups model is successful because of this: it provides information about the behaviors of people at recreation places, and it considers how these behaviors impact ecological and management systems of that resource.

The structural studies implied in this dissertation do not, at first glance, seem to have a straightforward, practical relevance to management issues. Managers can solve on-site problems without incurring the cost or difficulty of analyzing social structural data. And, except for fulfilling public participation requirements, managers are not required to involve themselves in local community affairs beyond their borders.

This paper suggests, however, that the practical relevance of structural studies is exactly within this context of community, where social positions are negotiated, information is transmitted, and social meanings are confirmed. For example, people get information about recreation opportunities from others; they travel and stay at tourist places based on the experiences of their friends, and the friends of their

friends; and they provide public support for parks and open spaces based in part on what their neighbors think about the issues. The practical importance of structural studies is that they identify, for a resource manager: (a) influential persons (or subgroups) who are central in community networks; (b) available communication linkages between persons or groups; and (c) sources of public support. A structural analysis of community social network ties can provide the basic information to help resource managers conduct more effective public relations programs.

Structural Analysis: Theoretical Relevance

A structural analysis details the social connections between people at a given point in time. The leisure research agenda, as described in this dissertation, is centered on the current and future importance of community linkages for leisure behaviors and meanings. That is, it asks how the composition of people's social networks change over time, and considers what these changes mean for their leisure behaviors. While we can propose a multitude of interesting hypotheses about social structures and leisure, there is no overall theory relating "social structure" to "social actions and meaning in leisure" which supports these hypotheses. Furthermore, without performing several social network analyses, there is no way to verify any self-reports of changes in structure over time.

This issue is particularly complex because no well-developed social theory of affective relationships exists: the literature on social network ties is primarily focused on exchange networks. While the position taken in this paper is that affective, non-instrumental ties of leisure can be separated from other kinds of social

ties, it is of theoretical interest as to whether all social ties are, in fact, "exchange" relations (Wellman and Berkowitz 1988).

This raises the related issue of whether studies of social networks are necessary in the analysis of leisure -- or, whether leisure research should be grounded primarily in the micro-level analyses of social relationships. This dissertation supports the first position, claiming that it offers a coordinating orientation in which theoretical development can occur. People make choices for involvement in social relationships, but, having made these choices, are affected by the consequences of involvement.

Sometimes the constraints and opportunities are not direct (from one person to another in a social relationship) but rather, the consequences result from second and third order relationships. We have all heard the saying, "you don't marry her/him, you marry their family." The extension of this idea carries into the context of leisure. Gaining a friend means that you gain "access" to a friend's egocentric social network, and to their leisure behaviors and meanings as well. This raises interesting questions about the "ordering" of social ties in leisure. For example, what are the social situations in which friends from different parts of a network can be brought together? And, how strong does a relationship have to be between two persons before each brings other close friends into a shared recreation event? Also, what social or recreation activity situations allow kin and friends to co-mingle? Finally, what specific network linkages contain the most potential for creating, validating, or influencing leisure meanings?

Phenomenological Issues

Structural issues are only one component in a revised sociology of leisure. Other important issues are raised about the nature of phenomenological inquiry in studies of leisure. As noted in Chapter 4, the procedures and methods of phenomenological analysis are ethnographic; that is, they are naturalistic, qualitative, and interpretive in nature. Qualitative analyses are equally as scientific as quantitative, but should be properly documented for replication purposes.

The utility of the phenomenological perspective is in its attention to the "social constructions of reality" accomplished by persons in social relationships. As noted in Chapter 4, though, phenomenology is an incomplete statement of a sociology of relationships and meanings. The perspective never specifies exactly how social meanings are "created" -- how people, once they have entered into relationships, construct and re-construct reality. This is an issue which remains problematic.

In this paper, the accepted procedure was to look specifically for meanings that were not "individual" interpretations of leisure (for instance, "leisure is my free time to do what I wish."), but were broadly-conceived "social" interpretations. For example, to some people, leisure is a central life interest, a life-style, around which other responsibilities revolve. For other people, leisure is a specific "time out" to recuperate and relax after other obligations are met.

On a gross level, these two types of social meanings exhibit themselves as different "styles" of leisure: for one, recreation is a series of spontaneous events; for the other, recreation involvement is time-constrained, planned, and regularized. While the exploratory study reported in this paper did not have a sufficient sample size to test these ideas, we believe that egocentric network structures have different compositions and shapes, and that relationships are activated in different ways, within

each of these styles of leisure meanings. In addition, we propose that these different styles of leisure meaning are reflected in differing emotional attachments to outdoor resource areas, landscapes, and land use ethics. This is an area for future research.

Future Research

The blending of phenomenological and structural perspectives in a revised sociology of leisure creates several interesting areas for future research. First, how well do different social networks "map over" one another? The premise of this paper is that the social relationships activated in the context of leisure are structurally different from those activated in the context of work, or neighborhood, or kin.

A question of interest, though, is: are different parts of *whole networks* activated for leisure as opposed to work, or are different parts of *specific relationships* activated? In other words, do people have one set of friends at work, and another set of friends with whom they recreate or socialize -- or, do they have one set of friends, some of whom they work with, and some of whom they choose to recreate with? This is a theoretical issue, but is also of practical concern for people who might like to find new partners for recreation. How does one locate activity partners who are also agreeable companions? The answer is in the structure of a person's social network.

A second interesting area for future research is the nature of communication linkages in social networks. How do different social network structures either limit or expand opportunities for interaction between people? Some networks, or parts of networks, are loosely-connected, while others are dense. In addition, some positions in networks are more central than others (key communicators, versus isolates). A

park manager who produces visitor information, a tourist facility and event promoter, or a recreation department manager who sets pricing policy, each need to know how to use networks to design and transmit their messages effectively to appropriate audiences. Too, individuals use social network linkages every day in socializing with others; it is reasonable to suggest that having the "right number" of significant leisure-related communication linkages in a network contributes to a person's sense of happiness.

A third area of research interest concerns the importance of social relationships and social networks as "resources" -- not only in the material or emotional sense, but also with regard to making life coherent and meaningful. The specific processes by which different kinds of relationships contribute to the construction of reality (leisure realities, as well as general social realities) is an area of importance in future research. The influence of "setting" for exercising choice and influencing meanings is also important. Some leisure settings allow great freedom in the control over meaning (for example, in casually meeting new people, one can sometimes provide deceptive self-reports about background and attitudes without incurring penalties for doing so). The further extension of the importance of relationships for creating social meanings is the study of how these social meanings then become institutionalized as social knowledge.

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APPENDIX A

LIST OF VARIABLES

Personal Data

Age
Gender
Years lived in town
Education
Location of past residence (town)

Employment Data

Job title
Employer
Years at this position
Seasonal or yearly
Past job
How subject got this job

Local/Cosmopolitan Orientation

Newspaper subscriptions
Magazine subscriptions
Television use
Radio use

Membership

Name of organization
How long a member
Does subject hold positions
Activities through organization

Social Network Ties

Immediate family: members
age
nature of relation
location of residence (if applicable)
frequency of visits (if applicable)
frequency of talking on phone (if applicable)
activities done together
number of activities

Extended family: members
 age
 nature of relation
 location of residence
 frequency of visits
 frequency of talking on phone
 activities done together
 number of activities

Friends: age
 nature of relation
 location of residence
 frequency of visits
 frequency of talking on phone
 activities done together
 number of activities

Husband/Wife
 Couples: years each spouse has resided in town
 activities done together
 local/cosmopolitan orientation
 total number of activities

Recreation Activities

Motorized
 activities: driving for pleasure
 motorbiking
 jeeping/4-wheel drive
 snowmobility
 camping vehicle
 other

Outdoor
 activities: sightseeing
 fishing
 hunting
 boat/canoe
 raft/river float
 target shoot
 mountain climbing
 horseback riding
 day hiking
 overnight backpacking
 swimming
 golf
 nature walks
 photography
 bicycling
 picnicking
 gardening

downhill ski
cross country ski/snowshoe
berry picking
cutting firewood
gathering foods (other than berries)
cut Christmas tree
collect specimens: pine cones

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